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LITHUANIAN DIALECTOLOGY

BY

ALFRED SENN

University of Pennsylvania

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FOREWORD

THE present monograph, which grew out of studies preparatory to a historical Lithuanian grammar, is meant to be a first guide for the study of Lithuanian dialects. The charts added to the text should enable the student to locate approximately the places mentioned in the various sources. Uniformity in spelling of the place names could not be achieved, since such a procedure would reduce the usefulness of the charts. All sources dealing with Prussian Lithuanian material have the place names in the German spelling, even No. 47 of the Bibliography, which was published in Lithuania and received official commendation from Antanas Smetona, president of Lithuania.

Due to war restrictions, not all accent and intonation marks are available in each of the types used in this study. As a result, some words had to be left unmarked.

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ALFRED SENN

BALA-CYNWYD, PA.

I

A WORKING BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR LITHUANIAN DIALECT STUDIES

THE titles marked with an asterisk (*) contain dialect texts with or without grammatical analysis, while titles not so marked contain no specimens of connected speech. Where the title of a publication is not self-explanatory, places or regions specifically referred to are named at the end.

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*H. Weber. See Nos. 5, 6, 80.

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(The titles marked with an asterisk deal with Prussian Lithuania only)

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132. O. Halecki, "Poland's Eastern Frontiers 981–1939" in *Journal of Central European Affairs*, I (1941), 191–207 and 325–338. University of Colorado publication.

133. *Alfred Senn, "Zur Memelfrage" in *Green County Herald*, June 21, 1939. Monroe, Wisconsin.

133a. ———, "Notes on Religious Folklore in Lithuania" in *Slavic Studies in Honor of George Rapall Noyes*, pp. 162–179. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y., 1943.

133b. ———, "The Historical Development of the Lithuanian Vocabulary" in *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America*, I (1943), 946–969. New York, N. Y.

134. Anicetas Simutis, *The Economic Reconstruction of Lithuania After 1918*. Columbia University Press, New York, N. Y., 1942.

135. Eduard Hermann, "Die litauische Gemeinsprache als Problem der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft" in *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, 1929, pp. 65–125.

136. Antanas Vaičiulaitis, *Outline History of Lithuanian Literature*. Chicago, Ill. 1942.

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

THE geographical names occurring in the Bibliography are listed here. It should be kept in mind that the various political changes have brought about a confusion in the geographical nomenclature, most of the places having different Lithuanian, Russian, Polish, German, and Lettish names. Here only such forms are mentioned as have been used in the writings of scholars. The modern Lithuanian form is used for places located in Lithuania. However, even the spelling of the modern names is not always uniform. Often the same name is written in the singular by one authority and in the plural by another, e.g., *Būdvietis* and *Būdviečiai*, *Pagirỹs* and *Pagiriaĩ*. In other cases we find also disagreement in the grammatical gender, e.g., *Pakapẽ* and *Pakapiaĩ*, *Añčiškis* and *Añčiškės*. Many variants are due to differences between local dialects and the standard language, e.g., *Añčiškės* and *Uñčiškės*, *Añturkė* and *Uñturkė*, *Alantà* and *Aluntà*. In a few cases the Lithuanian Administration changed a place-name several times, e.g., Russian *Novo-Aleksandrovsk* = Lithuanian *Ežerėnai* = Lithuanian *Zarasaĩ*, Russian *Vilkomir* (Polish *Wilkomierz*) = Lith. *Ukmergẽ* = Lith. *Vilkmergẽ* or *Vilkamergė* and again back to *Ukmergẽ* (Baranowski wrote *Aukmergė*). Quite frequently the official spelling as used in the publication of the Census Bureau (No. 122 of our Bibliography) is decidedly incorrect. But even the Lithuanian philologists have not yet come to a complete agreement, as is evidenced by a comparison of the three following publications: (1) A. Salys (No. 92 of our Bibliography), (2) Pr. Skardžius, *Bendrinės lietuvių kalbos kirčiavimas* (The Accentuation of Standard Lithuanian. Kaunas, 1936), (3) A. Kalnius, Z. Kuzmickis, and J. Talmantas, *Lietuvių kalbos rašybos vadovėlis* (A Lithuanian Spelling Primer. Kaunas 1938). Although we are not able to consider here all variations, we feel quite certain that non-Lithuanian scholars using this study as an introduction should soon find their way without great difficulties.

The figures following after the names refer to the numbers of the Bibliography.

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II

THE LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE AREA

THE geographical expanse of the area in which Lithuanian is spoken does not coincide with the area enclosed by the state boundaries. Only in the north the political boundary (separating Lithuania and Latvia) is almost identical with the linguistic frontier. Even there, however, there are a few Lithuanian communities located on Latvian soil, e.g., Brunava, between 24° and 25° E. long., Anykstà, Sùbatas, Alūkstà, and Gryvà, near Daugavpils (=Dvinsk or Dünaburg), Krāslava (east of Daugavpils), and, completely isolated and surrounded by a Lettish-speaking[1] population, Ciskodas (=Lettish Ciskada), about 27° E. long. and 56° 30′ N. lat., west of the city of Rēzneke.

Lithuanian authors have introduced the terms *Didžiõji Lietuvà* "Lithuania Major" and *Mažõji Lietuvà* "Lithuania Minor," the former referring to the Republic of Lithuania proper (sometimes called "Russian Lithuania") and the latter to the Lithuanian language area in East Prussia, more commonly called "Prussian Lithuania." In Lithuania Major the Lithuanian language area is interspersed with various non-Lithuanian settlements, namely, Yiddish (mainly in the cities), Polish, and Russian. Lettish is spoken along the northern frontier. The former German element was removed and resettled in Germany in the spring of 1941. It is very difficult to present on a map the distribution of the languages spoken in Lithuania, because they do not always appear in compact areas. Twenty years ago, the Lithuanian language was spoken in the rural areas, on the farms, while the cities were inhabited by national minorities, mostly Jews. "Even in present-day Lithuania, the towns do not show the real character of the nation, as the influx from the farms to the cities has never been strong enough to change the political, economic, and social conditions that have existed for several centuries."[2] Here is the ethnographical composition of the population of Lithuania (without the Memel and Vilna regions) in 1922, as given by A. Klimas, *Lietuvos geografija* (Kaunas, 1923), a textbook used in the Lithuanian schools:

Lithuanians	1,788,750 or 79.5 percent
Jews	247,500 or 11 percent
Poles	49,500 or 2.2 percent

[1] A distinction is made between *Latvian* (adjective and noun) and *Lettish* (adjective) or *Lett* (noun), the former word pertaining to the Republic of Latvia and its citizens, the latter to the language and its speakers. A similar distinction for *Lithuanian* is not made.

[2] Quotation from No. 134, p. 11.

Polonized Lithuanians	45,000 or	2 percent
White Russians	27,000 or	1.2 percent
Germans	33,750 or	1.5 percent
Russians	22,500 or	1 percent
Others (Letts, Tatars, Gypsies)	36,000 or	1.6 percent

Another Lithuanian, Anicetas Simutis,[3] gives different figures apparently based on the census of September 17, 1923:

Lithuanians	1,739,489 or	80.60 percent
Jews	154,321 or	7.15 percent
Germans	88,568 or	4.10 percent
Poles	65,628 or	3.04 percent
Russians	50,727 or	2.34 percent
Letts	14,930 or	.69 percent
White Russians	4,421 or	.21 percent
All others	40,075 or	1.86 percent

The figures given by Simutis add up to a total of 2,158,159 which is at variance with the statement that, according to that census, Lithuania had 2,170,616 inhabitants. "This number, it was estimated, had increased to 2,575,363 by 1939. However, about 153,793 were lost by the forced cession to Germany of Klaipėda (Memel) Territory in March, 1939, and about 457,500 were regained through the return of a portion of the Vilnius region in October, 1939. Thus, Lithuania at the end of 1939 had about 2,879,070 inhabitants."[4] It should be added here that the Lithuanian census of 1923 did not include the Memel Region.

The above-mentioned textbook by A. Klimas claims 65 percent Lithuanians and 35 percent Germans for the Memel Region, adding however that many Lithuanians in Memel have not yet become conscious of their nationality. For the Vilna Region only a percentile distribution is given, namely,

Lithuanians	25 percent
Polonized Lithuanians	20 percent
Poles	5 percent
White Russians	6 percent
Lithuanians who have become White Russians	24 percent
Jews	13 percent
Others	7 percent

In view of the political changes which have taken place during the last three decades, it seems worth while to look for additional sources of information. Census material of the Russian administration and individual research data were made available by K. Werbelis, a Lithuanian diplomat, in his book *Russisch-Litauen. Statistisch-*

[3] No. 134, pp. 12–13.
[4] Quotation from No. 134, p. 12.

ethnographische Betrachtungen (Stuttgart, 1916). The material is presented separately for each of the three former Russian provinces of Kovno, Suwalki, and Vilna.

Here are the figures taken from the official census of 1897 for the provinces of Kovno and Suwalki:

	Kovno		Suwalki	
	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
Great Russians	72,872	4.72	53,109	9.12
White and Little Russians	39,480	2.56		
Lithuanians	1,019,774	66.02	304,602	52.24
Poles	139,618	9.04	134,006	22.99
Jews	212,028	13.73	59,129	10.14
Letts	35,188	2.28		
Germans	21,762	1.41	30,485	5.23
Others	3,842	0.24	1,582	0.28
Total	1,544,564	100.00	582,913	100.00

It should be noted especially that in the nine largest towns of the province of Kovno, namely, Kaunas, Ukmergė, Rokiškis, Biržai, Panevėžys, Raseiniai, Telšiai, Šiauliai, and Šeduva, there were only 16,438 Lithuanians, beside 26,122 Great Russians (mostly Russian officials), 28,284 Poles, and 61,694 Jews, out of a total urban population of 143,144.

In the province of Suwalki the districts varied in their share of Lithuanian speakers, the Lithuanians holding a strong majority in the northern and a minority in the southern districts, namely,

Władisławów (=Naũmiestis)	82.76 percent Lithuanians
Vilkavĩškis	68.72 percent Lithuanians
Kalvarijà	72.62 percent Lithuanians
Mariampòlė	76.98 percent Lithuanians
Seiny (=Seinaĩ)	59.65 percent Lithuanians
Suwalki	8.48 percent Lithuanians
Augustowo	0.23 percent Lithuanians

In the district of Vilkavĩškis there were 15.91 percent Germans; in the district of Seiny: 22.89 percent Poles and 11.82 percent Jews; in the district of Suwalki: 66.81 percent Poles and 11.27 percent Jews; in the district of Augustowo: 49.13 percent Poles, 38.11 percent Russians, 11.57 percent Jews. Only part of the district of Seiny was incorporated in the Republic of Lithuania, the rest, together with the entire districts of Suwalki and Augustowo, falling to Poland's share. In 1939 this Polish triangle was occupied by German troops and made part of East Prussia. During the first World War many Rus-

sians fled Lithuania and did not come back. This accounts for the decrease of the Russian percentage in A. Klimas' tabulation of 1922. The decrease in the Jewish population was due to emigration to Germany and overseas (mainly America and South Africa).

It is a most difficult task to draw the eastern boundary line of the Lithuanian language area. There are Lithuanian settlements far to the east of the former Polish-Lithuanian state-line and even east of the new boundary given by the Russians in 1939–40 (which I am unable to describe accurately). Here is a line indicating the farthest limits of the Lithuanian expansion to the south and the east: Beginning at the German border south of Lake Vištytis (Wysztyten-See or Vištýčio ẽžeras), between Szittkehemen and Vìžainis, between Suwalki and Koliẽtninkas/Kaletnik, passing south of Kãpčiamiestis and Pérvalkas/Przewalka to Lazûnai (53° 54′ N. lat. and 26° E. long.). To the south of this line lies the isolated Lithuanian settlement of Zíetela (53° 28′ N. lat. and 25° 20′ E. long.). The eastern boundary follows approximately this course: From Lazûnai in a northwestern direction to Subãtninkai/Subotniki, then northeast to Surviliškis/Surwiliszki, from there westward passing by Dievẽniškis/Dzieweniszki, Kanvališkis/Konwaliszki toward Beniakainys /Bieniakonie, then through Šalčininkai/Wielkie Soleczniki and Šalcininkẽliai/Małe Soleczniki, then eastward to Graužiškės/Grawżiszki, northward toward Oszmiana/Ašmena, in a northeastern direction to Smurgainys/Smorgoń, northwest to Gùdagojis/Gudogaje, northeast to Gervẽčiai/Gerwiany, northwest to Worniany/Varnẽnai, northeast through Mykoliškė/Michaliszki toward Swir/Svyriai, then in a northwestern direction to Kliuščionys/Kluszczany, northeastward to Lintupis/Łyntupy, eastward to Komai/Komojai, northward to Adùtiškis/Goduciszki, northwestward to Melagẽnai/Melengiany and northeastward to Tverẽčius/Twerecz. From Tverẽčius the line probably goes in a northeastern direction through Ikazń/Ikaznė to Druja on the Daugava river and from there northwestward to Krãslava in Latvia. To the east of the Tverẽčius/Druja line there are isolated Lithuanian settlements in Hermanowiczy (55° 25′ N. lat. and 27° 47′ E. long.) and Dzisna on the Daugava river (55° 35′ N. lat. and 28° 12′ E. long.). About in the middle the eastern boundary is broken through by a Polish and White Russian wedge.

During the last century the Lithuanian language has lost considerable ground on its eastern frontier, mainly as a result of a relentless Russification drive. This loss is well illustrated in Werbelis' chapter dealing with the province of Vilna. Around 1860 this province had a total population of about 857,000. Of these, 386,000 (45 per-

cent) were Lithuanians, 212,000 (24.7 percent) Poles, 178,000 (20.7 percent) Great and White Russians, 77,000 (8.8 percent) Jews.[5] The official census of 1897 yielded the following figures: Total population 1,591,207, Lithuanians 279,877 (17.59 percent), Poles 130,054 (8.17 percent), White Russians 891,903 (56.05 percent), Great and Little Russians 79,536 (5 percent), Jews 202,374 (12.72 percent). We see here on the one hand a catastrophic decrease of the Lithuanian language and on the other hand a tremendous increase of the White Russian element. This tendency of denationalization of the Lithuanians continued during the first decade of the twentieth century as is shown by a police census taken in 1909, according to which, out of a total population of 1,815,194, there were only 234,484 (12.9 percent) Lithuanians, 277,073 (15.3 percent) Poles, 253,081 (13.9 percent) Jews, but 1,038,187 (57.2 percent) Great, White and Little Russians. By putting all the various Russians into one single column we get 61.05 percent for 1897. This would indicate a decrease of roughly 4 percent from 1897 to 1909. Apparently, however, a great number of Poles had been registered as White Russians in 1897.

Until very recently, "Litauen," i.e., Lithuania, was used as name for the northeastern region of East Prussia. According to Albert Zweck (No. 130), it reaches in the south as far as the Goldap river and is bounded on the west by the rivers Alle and Deime. In the southwest its boundary line goes from the mouth of the Goldap river through Nordenburg and Gerdauen to Friedland. This area comprises about 4,413 square miles and had in 1898 more than 650,000 inhabitants. While the "Russian-Lithuanians" are mostly Roman Catholics, the Prussian-Lithuanians belong to the Lutheran faith. On the southern fringe of this region, in Tollmingkehmen, the Lutheran pastor, Christian Donalitius, described in Lithuanian hexameters the life of the Lithuanian peasants after the middle of the eighteenth century. However, in 1843 there were only 120 Lithuanians left in that parish; their number decreased to a mere 86 by 1847 and in 1878 there was not one left. Similarly the former Lithuanian parishes of Darkehmen, Kleschowen (diocese of Darkehmen), Gurnen (diocese of Goldap), Ischdaggen, Nemmersdorf, Szirgupöhnen, Walterkehmen (diocese of Gumbinnen), Jodlauken (diocese of Insterburg), and Schirwindt (diocese of Pillkallen) had no Lithuanian parishioners

[5] According to the *Ethnographical Atlas* by R. d'Erkert (St. Petersburg, 1863). Other investigators of the same period have different calculations, e.g., Lebedkin (before 1861): Lithuanians 49.98 percent, Poles 18.42 percent, Russians, 22.04 percent; Korewa (1857–61): Lithuanians 46 percent, Poles 12.3 percent, Russians 31.7 percent; Rittich (1864 ?): Lithuanians 23.7 percent, Poles 17.3 percent, Russians 50.1 percent.

in 1878. Here is the statistical material for the southernmost districts as collected for the year 1878 by Maxim. J. A. Voelkel (No. 127):

	Total Number of Parishioners	Lithuanians
1. Diocese of Darkehmen:		
Ballethen	7,740	10
2. Diocese of Goldap:		
Dubeningken	5,345	500
Gawaiten	4,748	9
Szittkehmen	5,000	800
3. Diocese of Gumbinnen:		
Gerwischkehmen	3,000	7
Gumbinnen	7,555	20
Niebudszen	5,100	25
4. Diocese of Insterburg:		
Aulowönen	5,180	30
Berschkallen	4,800	250
Didlacken	3,639	40
Georgenburg	5,920	130
Grünheide	3,700	300
Insterburg Land	5,000	80
Norkitten	5,200	20
Obelischken	2,357	120
Pelleninken	3,300	80
5. Diocese of Wehlau:		
Petersdorf	4,680	1
Plibischken	5,499	12
6. Diocese of Pillkallen:		
Kussen	5,519	1,800
Lasdehnen	8,749	4,500
Mallwischken	3,380	120
Pillkallen	10,876	500
Schillehnen	3,450	1,700
Willuhnen	5,960	588
7. Diocese of Stallupönen:		
Bilderweitschen	8,210	21
Enzuhnen	5,950	200
Göritten	2,800	200
Kattenau	6,990	500
Mehlkehmen	6,400	150
Pillupönen	4,540	500
Stallupönen	8,546	300

The Lithuanians were more numerous in the northern dioceses of Ragnit, Tilsit, Niederung, Labiau, Heydekrug, and Memel. But even there the denationalization continued at an ever increasing pace. A striking example is given by the parish of Gilge which in 1848 had a total population of 6,013, of which 4,403 were Lithuanians. In 1878 the total population was only 4,273 and of these only 1,887 spoke

Lithuanian. This is the area which was investigated by Gerullis and Stang (No. 47) about ten years ago. The total population of the villages of Tawe, Gilge, Nemonien, Inse, Loye, Juwendt, and Agilla is now 5186. The two investigators (Gerullis is a German professor, Stang a Norwegian scholar) claim that they found not even one person who understood only Lithuanian.

The position of the Lithuanian language was strengthened in the Memel Region (*Klaipėdos krāštas*), which comprises an area of 943 sq. mi. between the Nēmunas River (=*Memel* in German) and the former German-Russian frontier, with a population of about 150,000. By the peace of Versailles the region was surrendered by Germany to the Conference of Ambassadors, and handed over by them to Lithuania on February 16, 1923. The Memel Statute worked out by the American Norman H. Davis provided for autonomous rights within the Lithuanian Republic. While in Lithuania Major there was to be only one official language, in the Memel Region Lithuanian had to share its official character with the German language. On March 22, 1939, the Memel Region was returned to Germany.[6]

According to German sources,[7] in 1905 the population of the Memel Region was about evenly divided, namely 49.78 percent Lithuanians and 49.84 percent Germans, with the following distribution as to districts.

	Total Population	Germans	Lithuanians
1. Memel, city and rural district	61,018	33,508	27,218
2. Heydekrug	36,541	14,516	21,996
3. Pogegen	42,179	21,618	20,349
Total	139,738	69,642	69,563

The major part of the remainder (533 persons) not included in these figures is made up by fishermen living on the *Kurische Nehrung*, a narrow tongue of land between the *Kurisches Haff* and the Baltic Sea. Their language is usually called "Kurish." It is, however, not really Kurish or Couronian, but a Lettish dialect.

The sixteen years of Lithuanian rule in the Memel Region were not enough to win over completely and assimilate the politically more active German-speaking element. If we are to believe the testimony of a Prussian-Lithuanian, namely Georg Gerullis (No. 45), professor of Baltic philology at the University of Berlin, the Lithuanian occupation had even a harmful effect in certain sections and accelerated the process of Germanization, because "the Prussian-Lithuanians look down disdainfully on the 'Polacks' (as they nickname the Rus-

[6] Cf. No. 133. [7] Cf. No. 124, p. 46.

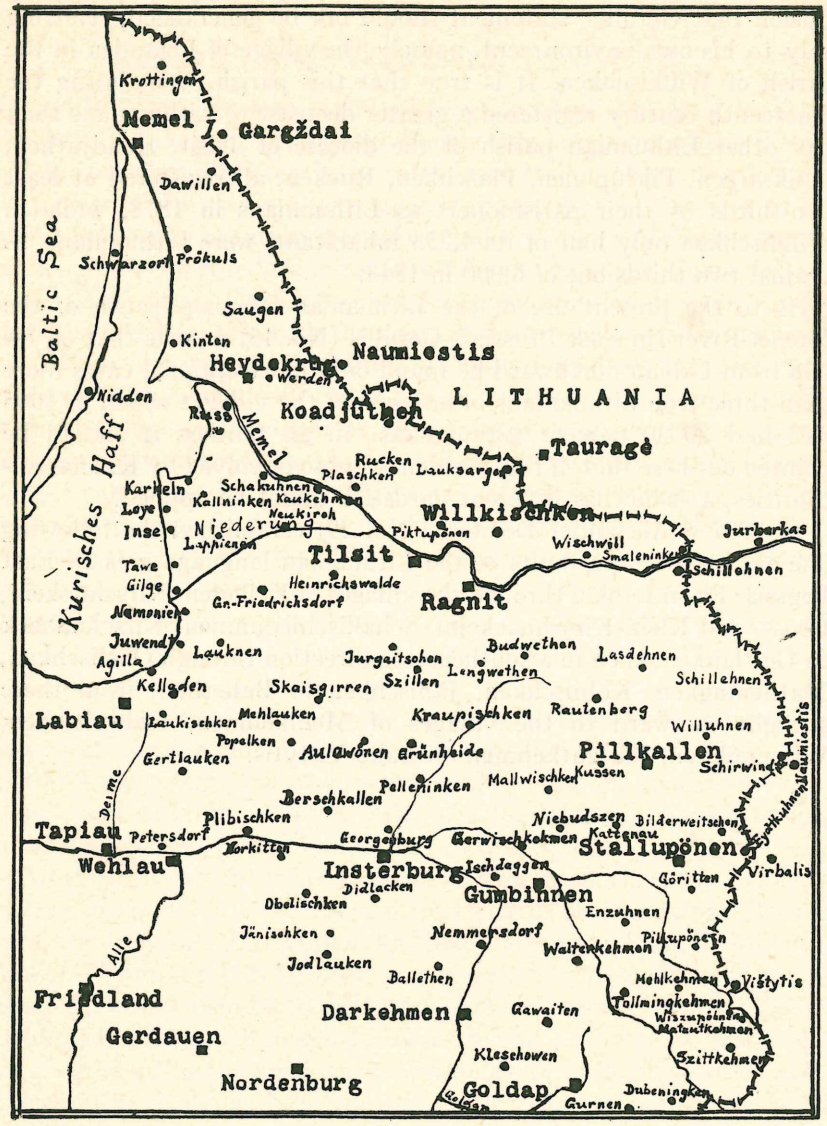


CHART II.
PRUSSIAN LITHUANIA
(Mažóji Lietuvà = Lithuania Minor)

sian-Lithuanians) and began to be ashamed of their mother-tongue."[8] There is enough contrary evidence available to force us to the con-

[8] Quotation from No. 45, pp. 66 and 67.

clusion that Gerullis' statement should not be generalized, referring only to his own environment, namely, the village of Jogauden in the parish of Willkischken. It is true that this parish even during the nineteenth century registered a greater decrease of Lithuanians than any other Lithuanian parish of the diocese of Tilsit. Koadjuthen, Lauksargen, Piktupönen, Plaschken, Rucken, all registered at least two-thirds of their parishioners as Lithuanians in 1878, while in Willkischken only half of its 4,253 inhabitants were Lithuanians, as against two thirds out of 6,000 in 1848.

As to the present use of the Lithuanian language south of the Memel River (in East Prussia), Gerullis (No. 45) reports that on his trip from Labiau northward he found only in exceptional cases more than three true Lithuanians in any one of the villages which in 1905 had had 20–30 percent Lithuanians. In all fairness it should be pointed out here that, if this problem were to be solved by Kaunas authorities, a somewhat different yardstick might be applied.

In 1907–8 Alexander Doritsch (No. 29) established the following line as the southern limits of the Lithuanian language area in East Prussia: From Labiau through the villages of Kelladen, Kirschnokein, Gross- and Klein-Kirschnackeim, Schallischledimmen, Kirschnabeck to Gertlauken; then in a southeastern direction through Obelischken, Matheningken, Kohlischken, Jänischken to Ballethen; from there straight eastward to the villages of Mehlkehmen, Kalweitschen, Wiszupöhnen, Matzutkehmen on Lake Vištytis.

III

DIALECTS AND STANDARD LANGUAGE

THE distinction between standard language and dialect is far less strict in Lithuanian than in the better known languages of the Western World. English, French, German, and Italian boast of a longer literary tradition and a much wider language area — two factors of which the former naturally leads to a traditional form while the latter makes a uniform standard indispensable if the language is expected to serve its purpose. The Lithuanian language area being quite small, the difficulties arising from the geographical distance of the dialects are not so important. In addition, it should be kept in mind that standard Lithuanian even today has not yet completely come out of its initial stage of development, namely that of organizing its grammar and collecting its vocabulary.[1] Almost any word found in any dialect can be raised to standard level by merely adjusting it phonetically and morphologically to the standard pattern. No wonder, therefore, that each author is trying to enrich the common vocabulary with contributions from his native region; or that he should attempt to leave his personal imprint even in the grammar. Outstanding in this regard are Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas (1863–1933), for his rich vocabulary gathered from everywhere, Julia Žimantienė-Žemaitė (1845–1921), for Shamaitish characteristics both in vocabulary and word form, Vincas Krėvė-Mickevičius (born 1882), for Dzukish traits (e.g., the subjunctive endings *-tau -tai* instead of *-čiau -tum*[2]), and Antanas Smetona (1874–1944), for his conscious attempt to introduce East-Lithuanian dialect forms.[3]

All through the history of Lithuanian literature[4] it is easy to localize the authors by the characteristic traits of their writings. To be sure, the very first Lithuanian document, the Catechism of Mažvydas or Mosvidius (1547), does not represent a pure dialect, but a Shamaitish modified by High-Lithuanian influence.[5] However, later publications are much nearer to some specific local dialect. Thus, the language used in the writings of Mikalojus Daukša (died 1613) and Constantine Širvydas (seventeenth century) is predominantly East

[1] Cf. Fr. Brender, "Zur Terminologie im Litauischen" in *Tauta ir žodis*, III (Kaunas, 1925), 489–492, and "Einige Bemerkungen zum Wörterbuch der litauischen Schriftsprache," *ibid.*, V (1928), 568–571.

[2] Cf. A. Senn, *Kleine Litauische Sprachlehre*, p. 71.

[3] Cf. K. Masiliūnas, *Antano Smetonos raštų žodynas* (Kaunas, 1934).

[4] Cf. A. Vaičiulaitis, "Lietuvių literatūros santrauka" (An Outline of Lithuanian Literature) in *Studentų žodis* 9 (Thompson, Conn., 1941), 223–230. Cf. No. 136.

[5] Cf. Chr. S. Stang, *Die Sprache des litauischen Katechismus von Mažvydas* (Oslo, 1929).

Lithuanian.[6] Christian Donalitius (1714–1780) wrote in the southern dialect of Prussian Lithuania, which, in the nineteenth century, Friedrich Kurschat (1806–1884; cf. Nos. 74 and 75) elevated to the level of a standard language for all of Prussian Lithuania. G. H. F. Nesselmann's (1811–1881) dictionary (1850), collection of songs (1853), and new edition of Donalitius' poems (1869) seconded Kurschat's work. So did the fact that August Schleicher in his Lithuanian Grammar (No. 95) primarily described the language of this area, giving texts from Ragnit, Kakschen, Kurschen, Schirwindt. The dialect thus codified extends eastward across the former German-Russian border and reaches as far as Kaunas. In the eighties, Jonas Jablonskis (1861–1930) studied philology at the University of Moscow. Through his teacher F. Fortunatov (cf. No. 33) he became interested in his own native language and he began to study it with the help of Kurschat's and Schleicher's grammars. Since he was born near (Suvalkų) Naumiestis,[7] not far from the German border, his speech differed only slightly from the language described by Kurschat and Schleicher. Jablonskis became the "father of the modern Lithuanian standard language" which he based on his own dialect. Jablonskis' work was strongly supported by the fact that during the Russian prohibition of Lithuanian books (1864–1904) most of the Lithuanian publications had to be printed in Tilsit, East Prussia. The language of the articles and essays published in the periodical *Varpas* (1889–1905) and of many other books printed in Tilsit was checked and corrected by Jablonskis who used various pseudonyms, e.g., Kaz. Obelaitis, Vaidilas, Gerulaitis, Kirvelis Nusmuko, Kriaušaitis, and finally settled on "Rygiškių Jonas" (No. 87).

The region called *Suvalkija* brought forth a number of other Lithuanian patriots who relied on the power of the printed word, e.g., the poet Vincas Kudirka (1958–1899), author of the national anthem, and Dr. Jonas Basanavičius (1851–1927; cr. Nos. 7–11), the patriarch of Lithuanian national revival who was the first to sign the Lithuanian Declaration of Independence on February 16, 1918. These and many other men gave also strong support to Jablonskis' work.

According to a report in the Chicago Lithuanian daily newspaper *Draugas* of April 13, 1942, a study entitled *Lietuvos bendrinės kalbos kūrimasis priešaušrio ir "Aušros" laikais* ("The Formation of a Standard Language in Lithuania before and during the *Aušra*

[6] This statement is made with full knowledge and recognition of the fact that Daukša is to be considered as the first who strove for the creation of a standard language. The thesis of Pr. Skardžius presented in *Archivum Philologicum*, IV (Kaunas, 1933), 7–20, is correct.

[7] Cf. No. 44, pp. 3–5.

Period") by Petras Jonikas (Cf. No. 59 of our bibliography) had just come out in Vilna. *Aušra* or *Auszra* was the first Lithuanian magazine printed in Roman characters. Founded by the above-mentioned Jonas Basanavičius in 1883, it was published in East Prussia, and ran until 1886.

This development frustrated earlier attempts by Simonas Daukantas (1793–1864) and Bishop Motiejus Valančius (1801–1875) to establish a Shamaitish standard language.

For the first time in history Lithuanian obtained the status of an official state language at the end of the first World War, when two Lithuanian states were set up, namely, Lithuania (*Lietuvà*) and the Memel Region (*Klaĩpėdos krãštas*).[8] The Lithuanian standard language in Memel differs to a certain degree from the form accepted as standard in Lithuania proper, because the Memel Region continued the Prussian Lithuanian tradition which used Gothic characters and capitalized all nouns, while in Lithuania Major Roman characters are used and common nouns are written with lower case letters. In addition, several sounds are expressed with different signs. The following comparison of identical texts brings out the differences.

Memel Region	Lithuania Major
Lietuwißka Ceitunga.	Lietuviškas laikraštis.
wyriausias lietuwißkas Laikraßtis Nemuno Szalei.	vyriausias lietuviškas laikraštis Nemuno šaliai.
wokißki Laißkai.	vokiški laiškai.
Lietuwiu seniausiasis Laißkas del naudingu bey pamokinancziu Weikaliu.	lietuvių seniausiasis laiškas del naudingų bei pamokinančių veikalų.

Prussian Lithuanian differs from standard Lithuanian also in the vocabulary, the Prussian Lithuanians having preserved a great number of Slavic loanwords which in the standard language of Lithuania Major or "Russian Lithuania" have been replaced by genuine native expressions. Here is a passage from the Acts of the Apostles (27, 9–10) in a Prussian Lithuanian and a Russian Lithuanian version to illustrate the differences. The corresponding words are Italicized.

Prussian Lithuanian[9]	Russian Lithuanian[10]
Daũg *czèso* jaũ pérėjus ir jaũ *priegadìnga* èsant jũrėmis keliáuti, tõdėl kàd ir pãstininkas jaũ bùwo praėjęs, graudėno jũs Pówilas sakýdams jíems:	Kadángi daũg *laiko* bùvo prasliñkę ir plaukìmas jaũ bùvo *pavojìngas*, nès ir pãsninkas bùvo jaũ praėjęs, Póvilas júos įspėjo sakýdamas:

[8] See p. 22.

[9] From Kurschat's revision of the New Testament, Halle, 1865. Cf. No. 78, p. 88. Kurschat's letter *ů* stands for *uo*.

[10] *Naujas Testamentas*. Translated by Bishop Juozapas Skvireckas (Kaunas, 1922).

Mielì wýrai, àß mataũ, kàd ßità jūsų keliõnė sù pažeidimù ir sù didè *ißkadà* nè tiktaĩ *tawõro* beĩ *ākrūto*, bèt ir mūsų gýwasczio nór būti.

Výrai, mataũ, kàd plaukìmas žāda būti sù nepatogumù ir dìdeliu *núostoliu* nè tiktaĩ *važtõs* ir *laĩvo*, bèt ir mūsų gyvybių.

That these lexical differences are not the result of recent changes, but go back at least to the beginning of the nineteenth century when the Russian Lithuanians became language-conscious, is indicated by the Bible translation of Bishop Giedraitis, published in Vilna in 1816,[11] from which the pertinent passage is quoted here:

O kad nemažas łaykas praejo, ir kad jau bayksztus buwo płaukimas, todel jog ir pasnikas jau buwo praejęs, linksmino juos Powiłas, Kałbedamas jems: Wiray matau, jog supażeydimu ir nutieronia didzia, netiktay sukrautu dayktu ir łaywo, bet ir dusziu musu, prasideda but tas płaukimas.

It is easy to understand that Prussian Lithuanian has more German loanwords than Russian Lithuanian. This is due to the uninterrupted German influence. However, the fact that today the Slavic loanwords are so much more numerous in Lithuania Minor, where there has been no Slavic influence, than in Lithuania Major, where Slavic influence has been strong and without interruption for many centuries, calls for a closer examination.[12]

[11] Cf. M. Biržiška, *Mūsų raštų istorija* (Kaunas, 1925), pp. 61 f.
[12] See Chapter VII, p. 55.

IV

SURVEY OF DIALECT STUDIES

THE study of the dialects started and progressed hand in hand with the general study of the Lithuanian language. A brief summary of the work done before the establishment of the Lithuanian republic is contained in Franz Specht's article "Baltische Sprachen" (No. 105). We have today various collections of dialect texts, the most important of which are: Nos. 1, 5, 6, 20, 21, 22, 24, 29, 30, 31, 41, 44, 59, 73, 79, 84, 94, 95, 103, 109. A student wishing to enter this field of study should start with Gerullis' book (No. 44) or with Schleicher's reader (No. 95).[1]

The study of individual dialects was begun forty years ago by the French scholar Robert Gauthiot who described the East-Lithuanian dialect of Buivýdžiai near Pandėlýs (No. 41). Only a few more investigations of this type were published later, namely, of the so-called *žemaičių dzūkai* by my former pupil A. Salys (No. 97), of the dialects of the Mūša Basin by my former pupil P. Būtėnas (Nos. 26 and 98), of the fishermen's dialect in East Prussia by G. Gerullis and Chr. Stang (No. 47), of the Shamaitish dialect of Pagramantis by P. Jonikas (No. 59), and of the Dzukish dialect of Tverečius by Jan Otrębski (Nos. 85 and 96). To these should be added Gerullis' abovementioned book which contains brief descriptions of eleven local dialects (Cf. No. 44 of our Bibliography).[2] Even before Gauthiot's publication the dialect of Anykščiai enjoyed great popularity thanks to Baranowski's work (No. 6). It was the only Russian-Lithuanian dialect of which western scholars had detailed knowledge. Baranowski played with the idea of building up his dialect into the standard language.

The Swedish scholar Ekblom (Nos. 30 and 31) was the first to make use of modern mechanical devices in studying and describing Lithuanian speech. However, since he limited his investigations to the speech of one person, namely, the Lithuanian writer and diplomat Ignas Jurkūnas-Šeinius, i.e., a highly educated representative of the Lithu-

[1] In the year 1926, when teaching at the University of Kaunas (Lithuania), I collected dialect texts from the following places with the help of Lithuanian informants, students of mine: Švėkšna (Kazimieras Alminauskis), Žarėnai (Vladas Butkus), Gaurė (Ona Gaižauskaitė), Jurbarkas (Dzidorius Giedraitis), Ukmergė (Jonas Puzinas), Pandėlys (Jonas Žekevičius), Uliūnai (B. Liesis), Daugai (Simanas Aleksandravičius). These texts are still unpublished.

[2] With this publication Gerullis harvested on grounds which had been prepared by others, mainly Būga and myself. At least four of his informants (Salys, Alminauskis, Būtėnas, Skardžius) were former students of mine.

anian nation, his studies bear primarily on the pronunciation of the standard language. Of course, their results contributed also to a certain extent to our knowledge of the East High-Lithuanian dialect of Musninkai as can be seen from my review (Cf. No. 31). Mechanical devices for the study of Lithuanian dialects were later consistently used by Gerullis and his school. This school is interested in measuring the sounds, vowels and consonants, and in the intervals and movements of intonation or pitch accent. Both the *Dialektstudien* of Gerullis and the monograph of Jonikas contain sound-pictures, photographs of the results of their phonetic experiments with Lithuanian informants. Sittig's publication (No. 103) gives texts which had been recorded by means of a phonograph in German prison camps during the first World War. The use of the phonograph belongs now to the standard equipment of the Lithuanian linguists, especially since a separate Phonetic Institute was established at the University of Lithuania.

The earliest investigations in our field had the purpose of opening up new material for the study of the language in general of which very little was known, the two grammars of Kurschat and Schleicher being the only sources, and these two grammars were representative only of Prussian-Lithuanian, a small area compared with the entire Lithuanian-speaking territory. Every new dialect which was discovered brought so much new material concerning the phonetic and morphological structure of the language that it became evident that a systematic study was the inevitable prerequisite for the one great desideratum in the field of Baltic philology: a historical Lithuanian grammar. It was especially Specht's ambition to exploit the Lithuanian dialects for the reconstruction of the primitive Indo-European language. However, some of his theories have been revised more recently. But this hope of finding in the Lithuanian dialects the key to some unsolved problems of comparative Indo-European grammar was shared by many others, especially by the Lithuanians themselves. Most extreme in this respect was Casimir Jaunius (Cf. Nos. 52–58) whose contagious enthusiasm infected Casimir Būga in his early years. However, Būga soon recognized the weakness of his teacher and introduced a more sober note.

Another stimulus for the study of Lithuanian dialects was a vocabulary interest, a search for words with which to replace loanwords used in the standard language. There was also folkloristic interest and an ambition to show off a large vocabulary. Once, when a new issue of our (Niedermann's and mine) Lithuanian Dictionary had just come out, a prominent writer told me that the special issue was not a

great contribution to Lithuanian culture because he had hardly found half a dozen words which were unfamiliar to him. He and many others of his type sought their highest achievement in enriching the vocabulary of the standard language. They had heard that the Oxford Dictionary contained several hundred thousand words and the Oxford Dictionary was the achievement and symbol of high culture.

For a while an additional incentive was active. That was when Būga had succeeded in locating geographically some of the old Baltic tribes[3] and when Niedermann's studies in Lithuanian word geography (Nos. 81 and 82) surprised the scholars by the fact that certain word areas coincided with the homes of certain original tribes. The method of word geography thus advanced by Niedermann was readily accepted and vigorously championed by Būga. The results of his studies in this field are published in *Kalba ir senovė* (No. 19) and in the periodical *Tauta ir žodis*. Thus, he came for instance to the conclusion that *gãtvė* "street" must have come as a loanword from the north, i.e., from Scandinavian. Investigations in the historical development of the dialects were very successfully continued by A. Salys (Nos. 90 and 92) and to a certain degree by P. Būtėnas (No. 26). According to Salys,[4] the division into Aukštaitish and Shamaitish came into existence after 1400 A.D. and Shamaitish split into its three subdivisions (Prussian Shamaitish, Telšiai Shamaitish, Raseiniai Shamaitish) around 1600.

In 1924 Niedermann, Būga, and I combined forces in an endeavor to bring out a Lithuanian Dialect Atlas. Niedermann with my help made up a list of about 80 words of outspoken vocabulary interest, to which Būga added a list of his own which was to answer phonetic and morphological problems. The questionnaire was printed and mailed in the spring of 1924. All the answers were to be sent to Būga. Unfortunately, Būga died the same year. His scientific material was sealed and bought by the University, to be handed over to the Editor of the official Lithuanian Dictionary. Only after my departure from Lithuania (1930) were steps taken to make those materials available. Our plan of a dialect atlas did not find favor with the new authorities. However, our material was used by the editors of the official Lithuanian Dictionary. A report by *Draugas*, a Lithuanian daily newspaper published in Chicago, of February 17, 1942, has it that in December 1941 the first volume of the comprehensive Lithuanian Dictionary was expected to be released in Vilna, published by

[3] Cf. No. 19 of our Bibliography and my footnote in *The Slavonic Year-Book*, I (1941), 265.

[4] *Archivum Philologicum*, IV (1933), 26.

the Lithuanian Language Institute of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (Lietuvos Mokslų Akademijos Lietuvių Kalbos Institutas) and edited by Juozas Balčikonis. This first volume containing the words beginning with *A* and *B* was to be 1,005 pages strong. Thus, the enterprise interrupted by Būga's untimely death (No. 25) has been resumed.

V

CLASSIFICATION OF THE DIALECTS

A DISCUSSION on the classification of the Lithuanian dialects is contained in my two articles "Aus litauischen Mundarten" (Nos. 97 and 98). The popular classification is presented in my Lithuanian Grammar (No. 100). A different one had previously been used by the Lithuanian Baranowski (No. 4) who distinguished eleven dialects in the former Russian province of Kovno, excluding the dialects spoken in the Vilna Region, in the Suvalkija, and in East Prussia. Baranowski's classification enjoyed great popularity abroad, but is far less popular in Lithuania. Here are his eleven dialects:

1. Telšiai Shamaitish (*žemaičiai telšiečiai* = *ŽT*): west and north of a line going through Vegeriaĩ, Kruopiaĩ, Papìlė, Upyna, Luõkė, Vařniai, Veivìržėnai.

2. Raséiniai Shamaitish (*žemaičiai raseiniečiai* = *ŽR*): between dialect 1 and a line going through Kruopiaĩ, Kuršėnai, Kùrtuvėnai, Pakapiaĩ, Šáukėnai, Raséiniai, Eřžvilkas, Gaũrė.

3. West Lithuanian, Northern Branch (*vakariečiai žiemiečiai* = *Vž*): from the boundaries of dialects 1 and 2 to a line going through Žagãrė, Gruzdžiaĩ, Šiauliaĩ, Šiaulėnai, Pašušvỹs, Betýgala, Gìrkalnis, Šimkáičiai.

4. West Lithuanian, Southern Branch (*vakariečiai pietiečiai* = *Vp*): from Jùrbarkas, Skìrsnemunė, and Šimkáičiai eastward to the Šùšvė and Nevėžis, reaches across the Nẽmunas (Memel) River into Suvalkijà and East Prussia.

5. First East-Lithuanian Dialect, Northern Branch (*rytiečiai pirmieji žiemiečiai* = *R1ž*): east of dialect 3 to a line going through Jõniškis, Radvìliškis, Šeduvà, Smilgiai, Panevėžỹs, Pagirỹs, Šẽta.

6. First East-Lithuanian Dialect, Southern Branch (*rytiečiai pirmieji pietiečiai* = *R1p*): from the rivers Šùšvė and Nevėžis eastward through Vẽpriai and Upninkai, extending toward Trãkai and Vilna as well as into the eastern part of Suvalkijà.

7. Second East-Lithuanian Dialect (*rytiečiai antrieji* = *R2*): northwest of Panevėžỹs, along the rivers Mūšà and Lėvuõ.

8. Third East-Lithuanian Dialect (*rytiečiai tretieji* = *R3*): east of the rivers Mūšà and Lėvuõ up to a line going through Papilỹs, Subačius, Troškūnai, Kavárskas, Vaitkuškis.

9. Fourth East-Lithuanian Dialect (*rytiečiai ketvirtieji* = *R4*): east of dialect 8 with the boundary line going through Salãmiestis, Žiõbiškis, Výžuonos, Debeĩkiai, Anykščiaĩ, Kurkliaĩ, Aluntà, Bálninkai, extending toward Vilna.

10. Fifth East-Lithuanian Dialect (*rytiẽčiai penktíeji = R5*) including Palėvenė, Kùpiškis, Víešintos, Skāpiškis, Panemùnis, Čedasaĩ.

11. Sixth East-Lithuanian Dialect (*rytiẽčiai šeštíeji = R6*): to the east and south of dialects 8, 9, 10, especially east of a line Svėdasaĩ-Užpāliai-Sudeĩkiai-Utenà, reaching into the northern part of the Vilna Region (district of Švenčiónys).

These eleven dialects are first tentatively arranged in a western and an eastern group on the one hand and in a northern and a southern group on the other hand. The four groups thus resulting are the following:

1. Northwestern group: the dialects 1, 2, 3.
2. Southwestern group: 4.
3. Northeastern group: 5, 7, 8.
4. Southeastern group: 6, 9, 10, 11.

Here are the main differences between the western and the eastern groups:

a) The western dialects (1, 2, 3, 4) have a palatal *l'* before the front vowels *e, ę, ė, ei*, while the eastern have a velar *ł* in that position: *myłėti, łėdas łėisti, pýłęs, našlė̃*.

b) In the western dialects the third person (singular, dual, plural) of the future tense has the same stress and pitch accent as the infinitive, e.g., *áugti áugs, šaũkti šaũks, sakýti sakýs, turėti turės, giedóti giedós*. The eastern dialects show the following treatment:

Diphthongs, nasals, and the long vowels *o* and *ė* become always "zweimorig" (having a duration of two *morae*): *aùgs, šaùks, turẽs, giedõs*.

The long vowels *y* and *ū* which are of "normal length" become "zweimorig," if the verbal stem ends in a consonant *pỹks, žlūgs;* but they become short, if the verbal stem ends in a vowel: *sakìs, pùs, džùs* of *sakýti, púti, džúti*.[1]

Significant differences between north and south are the following:

a) In the northern regions the word accent is retracted from the final syllable, e.g., *žmôgus, veĩkiu, arkliu* instead of *žmogùs, veikiù, arklių̃*.

b) Long *o* of the final syllable is shortened to *a* in the north: *gẽra dáikta = gẽro dáikto, báltas rañkas = báltos rañkos*.

Barnowski suggested also another arrangement, namely, 1. Shamaitish (1, 2), 2. West Lithuanian (3, 4, 5, 6), 3. East Lithuanian (8, 9, 10, 11) including Dzukish along the Lithuanian-White Russian frontier (extending from the district of Švenčiónys in the northeast

[1] Concerning the form of the third person of the future tense in the standard language, see my Lithuanian Grammar (No. 100), p. 57.

to Merkinė and Seinaĩ in the southern corner), 4. North Lithuanian (7), a northern subdialect separated from the West-Lithuanian group. Characteristic traits of the various subdivisions are enumerated by Baranowski. We need not mention them here because more adequate descriptions of most of the dialects, namely, *ŽT*, *ŽR*, *Vž*, *Vp*, *R1p*, *R1ž*, *R2*, *R3*, *R4*, *R5*, are now available in a more recent publication by Gerullis (No. 44).

Baranowski's dialect texts edited by Franz Specht (No. 5) are arranged according to the classification just mentioned, except that *Ró* is not represented there. Even Gerullis does not fill this gap. He is satisfied with treading in Baranowski-Specht's footsteps and giving as a welcome addition a specimen of Jonas Jablonskis' (=Rygiškių Jonas) speech.

Eduard Hermann (No. 48) suggested a workable division of the entire Lithuanian language territory in 16 areas, indicating for each one available printed texts: 1. *ŽP*=Prussian Shamaitish, spoken in the northern part of the Memel Region; 2. *ŽT*=Telšiai Shamaitish; 3. *ŽR*=Raseiniai Shamaitish; 4. *Vž;* 5. *Vp;* 6. *VS*=West Lithuanian as spoken in the former province of Suwalki (Suvalkijà) and in the neighboring parts of the former province of Kovno; 7. *Dz*=Dzukish; 8. *P*=Prussian Lithuanian south of *ŽP:* 9. *R1* including both the northern and the southern branch; 10. *R2;* 11. *R3;* 12. *R4;* 13. *R5;* 14. *Ró;* 15. *Sl*=dialect spoken in the district of Słonim, i.e., the dialect of Zíetela; 16. *O*=dialect spoken in the district of Oszmiana.

In the classifications just mentioned the designation *vakariẽčiai* "West Lithuanian" is an abbreviation of *vakariẽčiai aukštaĩčiai* "West High-Lithuanian" or "West Aukštaitish." In its abbreviated form it is misleading and therefore often replaced by the name "Middle Lithuanian." Even Gerullis (No. 44), who officially uses the Lithuanian terms *vakariẽčiai žiemiẽčiai* and *vakariẽčiai pietiẽčiai*, speaks of "Mittellitauisch" in other parts of the same book.

A comprehensive view of the various dialect groups, in form of a map, was given in 1933 by the Lithuanian A. Salys (No. 92), the leading authority in this field. Here is his arrangement, which, in appreciation of the unquestioned competence of its author, deserves general acceptance:

ŽEMAIČIAI

(Shamaitish or Low Lithuanian)

1. *dộ · nininkai*=Prussian Shamaitisch (*ŽP*)
2. *dộ · unininkai*=Telšiai Shamaitish (*ŽT*)
3. *dú · nininkai*=Raseiniai Shamaitish (*ŽR*)

AUKŠTAIČIAI
(Aukštaitish or High Lithuanian)

4. *Vakariečiai* = West High-Lithuanians
5. *Viduriečiai* = Middle High-Lithuanians
6. *Rytiečiai* = East High-Lithuanians
7. *Dzūkai* = Dzukish.

Salys gives the following boundaries for the seven areas:

1. The northern part of the Memel Region bounded on the east by the state-line and on the south by a straight east-west line starting west of Naũmiestis, excluding Jonaten and Heydekrug. In this area the standard Lithuanian diphthongs *uo* and *ie* appear as long monophthongs *ǫ̇* and *ę̇*, e.g. *dǫ̇na dę̇na* for *dúona* "bread" and *dienà* "day." Therefore, the speakers of this dialect are called *dǫ̇nininkai.*

2. This dialect is bounded on the north by the Lithuanian-Latvian state-line and separated from dialect 3 by the following line: starting straight east of Prökuls and passing closely to the right of Veivìržėnai, Judrėnai, Rietãvas, Tvėrai, Žarėnai, Janãpolė, Luõkė, Upýna, Raudėnai, Papìlė to a point south of Kruopiaĩ, where it hits the Shamaitish-Aukštaitish boundary. In dialect 2, standard Lithuanian *dúona* and *dienà* are pronounced *dǫ̇una* and *dęina.* Two subdialects are singled out: a) The subdialect of the *žemaĩčių dzūkai,*[2] spoken in Gargždaĩ, Vėžaičiai, Endriejãvas, Judrėnai, Veivìržėnai; b) the subdialect of the *pajūrio žemaĩčiai* (Seashore Shamaitish), spoken west of a line which begins on the Latvian border east of Židìkai, passes between Sedà and Alsėdžiai, between Žlibinaĩ and Rietãvas, and then turns west.

3. The Shamaitish-Aukštaitish boundary begins on the Latvian border, just east of Vegeriaĩ (which belongs to dialect 2), and goes in a general southern direction, passing closely by the western side of Kruopiaĩ, Šakýna, Šiupỹliai, Kužiaĩ, between Bubiaĩ and Raizgiaĩ, between Padubysỹs and Pakapiaĩ, between Kiaunoriaĩ and Šiaulėnai, between Týtuvėnai and Šìluva, to a point just southeast of Raséiniai, then turns southwest, passing between Raséiniai and Kalnùjai, between Eržvilkas and Vadžgirỹs, to the German-Lithuanian state-line, which it hits about in the middle between Jùrbarkas and Gaũrė. From there it turns first west, then northwest, following the state-line until it reaches the line separating dialect 1 from Prussian Aukštaitish. Dialect 3 lies between dialect 2 and the Shamaitish-Aukštaitish boundary. Here standard Lithuanian *dúona* and *dienà* are pronounced *dú̇na* and *dı̇̀na.*

4. The line given by Salys as separating *Aukštaĩčiai Vakariečiai*

[2] See footnote 3.

from *Aukštaĩčiai Viduriẽčiai* begins at the Latvian border between Skaisgirỹs and Daunorava, goes through Meškùičiai, skirts the eastern side of Šiauliaĩ and the western side of Radvìliškis, reaches the Beržė River between Daujotava and Baisógala, follows the Beržė, then the Šùšvė River, goes through Krākės, reaches the Šùšvė again, west of Kėdáiniai, follows it, then follows the Nevėžis River, until it reaches the Nẽmunas River (near Raudóndvaris), then it turns southeast up the Nẽmunas to the mouth of the Jesià River, then up the Jesià River, then passes between Príenai and Šilavotas, between Balbieriškis and Gudẽliai, between Krokialaukis and Daukšiaĩ, skirts Krosnà, Rudaminà, Būdvietis, then passes between Liubāvas and Vìžainis and reaches the southern tip of Lake Vištýtis. The area west of this line is called West Aukštaitish or West High-Lithuanian. It includes all of Prussian Lithuania, except Prussian Shamaitish (dialect 1). The line described here is the isophone *l'/ł*. West of it, *l* before *e* and *ė* is a palatal sound, while east and south of it, the combinations *le lė* are spoken with a velar *l* (=*ł*). Most scholars, e.g., Baranowski (No. 4), Būga (No. 25), Gerullis (No. 44), Hermann (No. 48), Jablonskis (No. 87), Senn (Nos. 98, 100), regard the *lė/lė* isophone as the western limit of the East-Aukštaitish (*rytų aukštaĩčiai* or *aukštaĩčiai rytiẽčiai* or merely *rytiẽčiai*) dialects, counting as "East Aukštaitish" not only the strictly eastern dialects but also Dzukish which is spoken in the southern and southwestern part of the country. Salys excludes from East Aukštaitish two large areas, namely the Dzukish area and what he calls *aukštaĩčiai viduriẽčiai* or Middle Aukštaitish.

5. The eastern limit of Salys' "Middle Aukštaitish" (the *em, en, am, an* isophone) follows a line beginning on the Latvian border between Kriukaĩ and Jōniškis, passing west of Pašvitinỹs and Lygumaĩ, between Radvìliškis and Šeduvà, skirting Baisógala on the east, passing through Survìliškis, then between Šėta and Síesikai, between Vẽpriai and Pabaiskas, skirting Gélvonys and reaching the Dzukish border between Mùsninkai and Papárčiai. West of this line we find the standard diphthongs *em en am an*, while east of it these diphthongs appear in a changed form, mostly *im in um un*. Salys' Middle Aukštaitish is separated from Dzukish by a line beginning east of Papárčiai, circling around north and west of Papárčiai, skirting the east side of Kietāviškis and the west side of Aūkšdvaris, then passing between Pivašiū̃nai and Raižiai (Cf. No. 103), skirting Alytùs on the north and passing between Udrija and Krokialaukis in the direction toward Daukšiaĩ.

6. East Aukštaitish in the restricted sense applied by Salys,

borders on Latvia in the north and northeast, and on the Dzukish area in the southeast along a line starting southwest of Daugavpils, between Zarasaĩ and Smalva, going in a southwestern direction between Sālakas and Vajesìškis, between Lìnkmenes and Labanóras, between Jõniškis and Uñturkė, between Dubiñgiai and Giedráičiai, between Maišiógala and Mùsninkai. In Brunavà, Aknystà, Sùbatas, and Alūkstà, Lithuanian communities located on Latvian soil, they speak East Aukštaitish, while Gryvà, a suburb of Daugavpils, and Cìskodas are Dzukish.

7. Dzukish is a nickname for those who say *dž*, *č* before *i*, *y*, *ie*, instead of standard Lithuanian *d*, *t*, e.g.,

standard Lith. *tìkras*	:	Dzukish *čìkras*, *čīkras*
standard Lith. *Diẽvas*	:	Dzukish *džiẽvas*
standard Lith. *matýti*	:	Dzukish *mačýč;* but
standard Lith. *tęsti*	:	Dzukish *tūšč*, *t'ȳšč*.

Another characteristic trait of the Dzukish dialect is the pronunciation *č* and *dž* for palatal *č* (=*či*) and *dž* (=*dži*), e.g.,

standard Lith. *čià*, *apačià*	:	Dzukish *čà*, *apačà*
standard Lith. *pradžià*	:	Dzukish *pradžà*
standard Lith. *džiaūgsmas*	:	Dzukish *džaūksmas*.

Dzukish is spoken in a marginal strip of territory along the southern and eastern language border, neighboring upon White Russian.[3]

Dzukish was previously classified as an East-Aukštaitish dialect primarily on account of the *lė/łė* isophone, but also for its treatment of the original nasal vowels *ą* and *ę*. Cf. *šūla* for *šą̃la* and *tȳsia* or *t'ȳsia* for *tęsia* in Dùsetos, Kùpiškis, Merkìnė, Seinaĩ, Tverẽčius. The *ą* and *ę* isophones are almost identical with the *lė/łė* isophone, except in the north where (from Baisógala to Kriukaĩ) they coincide with the isophones of *em en am an*. Salys disregards the *ą* and *ę* isophones, but pays considerable attention to the treatment of tautosyllabic *em en am an*, and as a result he postulates his Middle Aukštaitish. This dialect area forms a very narrow strip of land stretching from north to south. It is so narrow that it reminds one too much of something unclaimed after a partition. Where the Middle Aukštaitish area widens somewhat (Kėdáiniai, Vendžiógala, Kulvà, Bāptai), the population spoke almost exclusively Polish in 1921, and it was difficult to find persons speaking Lithuanian. Apparently this territory is now reclaimed by the Lithuanian language and we find there a form of colonial dialect based on the standard or school language.

[3] Since a certain Shamaitish subdialect shows a similar phonetic development, the name *žemaičių dzūkai* was invented for it (Cf. No. 97).

Salys' classification is acceptable, especially the recognition given to Dzukish as a separate High-Lithuanian dialect. But it must be remembered that his designation "Middle Aukštaitish" is not the same as the "Mittelitauisch" in the nomenclature of Leskien (No. 78) and Gerullis (No. 44).

On Salys' map we find also entries concerning retraction of the word accent.[4] There are two degrees of retraction, an absolute one and a limited one. In the case of absolute retraction, the stress shifts from the final syllable to the stem-syllable, unless the final syllable has acute intonation, e.g., *gerám*, Shamaitish *matâ˙*, *matâ˙u* (<*matái*, *matáu*) in contrast to Aukštaitish *mataĩ*, *mataũ;* but *šàka*, *gỹva*, *laũkai* in Jõniškis, as compared with standard Lith. *šakà*, *gyvà*, *laukaĩ*. Absolute retraction of the word accent rules in the area north of the following line: Kinten-Saugen-Gařdamas-Šilālė-Kaltinėnai-Krāžiai-Kùrtuvėnai-Kužiaĩ — circling around Šiauliaĩ to the north and coming back south — Radvìliškis-Baisógala-Upýtė-Panevėžỹs-Vabalniñkas-Bìržai-Latvian border.

A limited retraction of the stress from a final syllable (mostly only short final vowel losing the stress) extends even farther to the south, approximately to the following line: Šilālė-Skaudvìlė-Vidùklė-Raséiniai-Ariógala-Čẽkiškė-Kulvà-Gélvonys-Giedráičiai-Molėtai-Leĩūnai-Výžuonos-Svėdasaĩ-Kamajaĩ-Kriaunos.

Dialect 4 (*aukštaĩčiai vakariẽčiai* or West Aukštaitish) is divided into three subdialects according to the treatment of unaccented final *-ė, -o, -ės, -os, -ą -ų, -ę, -į*:

a) *Žiemiẽčiai*, i.e. northern subdialect, reaching as far south as Ariógala, Skìrsnemunė, and Jùrbarkas, and including most of the Aukštaitish area in East Prussia, namely, Willkischken, Budwethen, Pillkallen, Insterburg, and the area west and north of these places.

b) *Veliuoniẽčiai*, i.e., the subdialect of Veliuonà or central subdialect, including Čẽkiškė, Veliuonà, Vilkijà, Raudóndvaris, Zapýškis, Lekẽčiai, Ilguvà, Lukšiaĩ, Šakiaĩ, Sintautaĩ, Slavìkai, Wischwill, Lasdehnen.

c) *Pietiẽčiai*, i.e., southern subdialect, including Garliavà, Vìšakio Rūdà, Grìškabūdis, Naũmiestis, Stallupönen, Gumbinnen, and the area south of these places. In this southern subdialect all the abovementioned final vowels are pronounced long. Christian Donalitius of Tollmingkehmen, East Prussia, wrote his poems in it in the eighteenth

[4] Cf. p. 257 of No. 100.

century, and at the beginning of our century Jonas Jablonskis used it as the base for the modern standard language.

Most of the Aukštaitish area in East Prussia south of the Memel River is characterized by monophthongization of the standard diphthongs *ėi ái áu* (i.e., only with acute intonation) to *ė́* and *á́*, e.g., in Kakschen they say *klá́se = kláusė, lá́ke = láukė, greičá́sei = greičiáusiai, nukeliá́tu = nukeliáutų, dá́ktus = dáiktus, bá́mes = báimės, piemená́tį = piemenáitį*, but *beklaūsant, laūką, džaūgsmas* (*= džiaūgsmas*), *daiktaīs, pasitaīsęs*. This area overlaps with that part of subdialect *b*) which reaches into East Prussia. It is bounded on the east by the German-Lithuanian state-line, on the southeast by a line beginning north of Schirwindt and going straight to Didlacken, on the north by a line from Woidehnen circling around the northside of Jurgaitschen and going to Kelladen (excluding Ragnit and Tilsit).

Salys informs us that the East-Prussian speakers of subdialect *a*) had immigrated to their present homes from the southeastern part of the old Duchy of Samogitia, whose eastern border had run along the rivers Šūšvė and Nevėžis.[5]

Any classification of Lithuanian dialects attempted so far is based exclusively on phonetic phenomena. The isophonic areas thus established owe their existence to historical events, mainly former political and administrative boundaries of relatively recent date (Cf. Nos. 90 and 92). Thus, Salys has even shown that the differences in speech noticeable between the so-called *Zanavỹkai* (i.e., the inhabitants of northern Suvalkijà around Grìškabūdis, Sintautaĩ, Lukšiaĩ, Šakiaĩ, Slavìkai) and the so-called *Kàpsai*[6] (the southern neighbors of the Zanavykai, around Vilkavìškis, Virbālis, Sasnavà, Mariampòlė, Kalvarijà) are due to two different waves of immigration, the former coming from the southeastern part of old Samogitia[5] and the latter from the Vilna Region. As a result, the Zanavykai stress equally both components of diphthongs having circumflex intonation (*laĩ̃ko, laũ̃kas, mateĩ̃*, where the stress is equally distributed on *a* and *i*, *a* and *u*, *e* and *i*), while the Kapsai in the same type of diphthongs stress the second component, i.e., only the *i* and *u* (*laĩko, laūkas, mateĩ*), and still say *kàp* and *tèp* instead of *kaĩp* and *teĩp*. This boundary line originated in the fifteenth century. The original inhabitants of the Suvalkija had been Prussians. They were assimilated by the Lithu-

[5] "Samogitia" means the "Shamaitish Country" and the term "Samogitian" is used as a synonym of Shamaitish. However, the territory of the former Duchy of Samogitia included areas where Aukštaitish is spoken now.

[6] So called because they say *kàp* instead of standard Lith. *kaĩp* "how."

anians, just as the Prussians living in East and West Prussia succumbed to German expansion.

Similarly, a large part of the now Shamaitish area, namely, *ŽP* and *ŽT*, had originally been inhabited by the Baltic tribe of the Couronians. The disappearance of the Couronians is due to Lithuanian and Lettish expansion.[7] According to Salys, the boundary between dialects 2 (*ŽT*) and 3 (*ŽR*) is almost identical with the south-eastern boundary of the former Couronian territory known by the name of *Ceclis*. Dialect 1 (*ŽP*) is an offshoot from dialect 2 (*ŽT*). Immigrants from the dialect 2 settled in the northern part of the Memel Region around 1400 A.D. At that time the forms *dǫuna* and *dęina* had not yet come into existence. In their place the ancestors of the modern *dǫunininkai* used the forms *dǫ̇na* and *dę̇na* which were brought by the immigrants to their new homes. Direct intercourse with the mother dialect was impossible because a political boundary separated the two areas for over 500 years. Therefore, the vowels *ǫ̇* and *ę̇* behaved differently in the two dialects. In the new colonial area they remained unchanged or became petrified while in the mother dialect they changed to *ǫu*, *ęi*.

[7] Cf. K. Būga in *Tauta ir žodis*, I (1923), 376–397 and No. 25, pp. lxxxix–cxxxiii. Cf. also A. Salys, "Baltų kalbos" (The Baltic Languages) and "Baltų tautos" (The Baltic Nations) in *Lietuviškoji Enciklopedija*, II (Kaunas, 1934), col. 984–995 and 999–1004.

VI

WORD GEOGRAPHY

A. STORK NAMES

AN ATTEMPT is hereby made to compare the isophonic areas, on which the dialect classification is based, with some isoglottic areas, i.e., word areas. The various designations for the stork (*zool.*, *ciconia ciconia*) are used for this purpose. Max Niedermann's initial study pertaining to this subject (No. 81)[1] prompted me to collect such names from as many places as possible, in order to complete the picture. The collection was made almost twenty years ago when I taught at the University of Lithuania in Kaunas. During the nine years I spent in Lithuania I came in contact with people from almost every township of the country. I personally visited the following localities: Žagãrė, Jõniškis, Šiauliaĩ, Panevėžỹs, Subãčius, Kařsakiškis, Ukmergẽ, Kaĩšiadorys, Kėdáiniaĩ, Jonava, Karmelavà, Vendžiógala, Merkìnė, Daugaĩ, Alytùs, Bìrštonas, Príenai, Mariampòlė, Garliavà, Zapýškis, Raudóndvaris, Vilkijà, Serėdžius, Jùrbarkas, Kiduliaĩ, Raseiniai, etc. I became most intimately acquainted with the surroundings of Kaunas within a radius of about 25 miles.

Information concerning the names of the stork came to me from numerous colleagues and friends, students of mine, relatives of my wife, through personal visits, and through the co-operation of a number of teachers located in various secondary schools, e.g., in Jõniškis, Bìržai, Panevėžỹs, Zarasaĩ, Ukmergẽ, Príenai, Lazdìjai. They submitted my questions to their pupils and thus secured very detailed information. I am especially indebted to Messrs. P. Būtėnas, Gobis, Kutra, and Pietrikas, who aided me most effectively and procured at least two thirds of my material.

The way in which I collected my material has the advantage of including representatives of both the older and the younger generation. It must, however, be kept in mind that in the meantime a new generation has grown up and many of my older informants have passed away. When I made my inquiries, Lithuanian had just obtained its first recognition as an official language and was still in a fluid state. There was a strong determination not only to replace

[1] Professor Max Niedermann of the University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland, informed me by air mail letter of January 16, 1943 (which I received May 26, 1943) that he was writing a second article on Lithuanian stork names for an *Endzelin Festschrift* edited by Georg Gerullis. Due to the war, I was unable to answer Niedermann. My present study was completed in April, 1942.

foreign words with indigenous expressions, but also to reclaim for the Lithuanian language those regions where Polish had taken root. Compulsory attendance of the grade school, compulsory military service, and the agrarian reform were the three most effective factors in this campaign. During the two decades gone by since then, these efforts must have brought some results. It is to be expected that in most of the districts which formerly had a strong Polish element (e.g., in the surroundings of Kaūnas, Kėdáiniai, Jonavà, Dotnuvà, Zarasaĩ), the Lithuanian language holds now a predominant position. In order to register the linguistic changes which must have taken place, a new investigation should be made as soon as conditions permit it. Again we should address ourselves to the pupils of the various secondary schools and ask them how they call that bird at home. We would now get the information from the children of those who answered my question twenty years ago.

If we consider only the common designations, disregarding nicknames, we get seven word types, namely, *gañdras* (with local dialect variations), *staŕkus* (*staŕkas*, *staŕks*, *steŕkus*), *bùsilas* (*bùsilus*, *busilỹs*), *garnỹs*, *gùžas* (*gùžs*), *gužùtis*, *baciõnas*. Of these seven names, two, namely, *gañdras* and *staŕkus*, are German loanwords, while *baciõnas* is Polish and *bùsilas* White Russian.[2] *gùžas* and *gužùtis* are derivations from the verbal root *guž-* or *gūž-* used in connection with birds, e.g., *gūžėti* "to nest, to nestle," *gūžis* and *gūžta* "nest of a bird," *gūžtáuti* "to build a nest." The original meaning of *gùžas* and *gužùtis* was "nestler." It referred to a similar situation as the nickname *stógiapaukštis* mentioned below.[3]

The seven types, disregarding phonetic variations, are registered here with the names of the towns and townships in which they were recorded. Names of smaller units belonging to a township are given in parentheses. The following abbreviations are used: m. (=*miẽstas*, *miestẽlis*) "town, borough," k. (=*káimas*) "peasant village," s. (=*sõdžius*) "peasant village," vk. or vs. (=*vienkiemis* or *viensėdis*, *viensėdijà*) "homestead, farm," d. (=*dvāras*) "estate." Localities in which more than one type was recorded are italicized.

1. *gañdras*

Alsėdžiai, Darbėnai, Endriejāvas, Gargždaĩ, Gaūrė, Grūšlaukis, Ylakiaĩ, Ž. Kalvarijà, Kaŕtena, Kretingà, Kuliaĩ, Laižuvà, Mažeĩkiai, Mósėdis, Palangà, Plāteliai, Plùngė, Raudėnai (Vanagìškių k.), Rietāvas, Salantaĩ, Sedà, Skaudvìlė, Skuõdas, Švėkšna, Telšiaĩ,

[2] Cf. No. 81. [3] See p. 50.

Tirkšliaĩ, Trýškiai, Tvẽrai, Veivìržėnai, Viekšniaĩ, Židìkai, and all over Prussian Lithuania.[4]

gañdras+gùžas

Kriukaĩ (*Mažẽlių k.*)

gañdras+gužùtis

Adakãvas, Gaščiūnai (*Andrešiūnų k.*), *Kelmė, Krãžiai, Kėdáinių Pašušvỹs* (*Gulbinų k.*).

2. *staĩkus*

Aluntà, Alizovà, Anykščiaĩ, *Antãlieptė* (Tamašaukos vk.), *Aũkšdvaris* (m. and Gudẽlių k.), *Bálninkai* (Armanìškių k., Plaštakõs k., Šėparnės vk.), Bìržai (from 36 different localities), Brunavà, *Daũgailiai* (Madagaskãro vk.), Debeĩkiai, Daujėnai, *Degùčiai* (Zablackų k.), Dotnuva, Indrióniškis, Joniškẽlis, Júodupė, Kařsakiškis, Kavárskas, Kamajaĩ (from 10 different localities), *Klóvainiai*, Krekenavà, Krinčìnas, *Kriukaĩ*, Kùpiškis (from 46 different localities), Kurkliaĩ, Leliūnai, Lygumaĩ, Linkuvà (from 13 villages), Mieškaĩ, Naujãmiestis (from 20 different villages), Onuškis, Pãbiržė (from 11 villages), *Pakrúojis* (Nereikónių k., Daugšigalių k., Kalevai), Pandėlỹs, Panevėžỹs (from 10 neighboring villages), Papilỹs (from 12 villages), Pasvalỹs, *Pašvitinỹs* (Pãšvitinio m., Gegiedžių k., Vyšeikių k., Jenonių k., Voronių k., Mikniūnų k., Vaiškonių k., Petrikonių k.), Piniava, Pùmpėnai (from 8 villages), Pùšalotas, Nemunėlio Radviliškis (from 6 villages), Ramýgala, *Razalimas* (from 11 villages), Rõkiškis, Salõčiai (from 4 villages), *Skaisgirỹs* (Taučiūnų k.), *Smilgiai* (Smilgių m., Balnóravos k., Naurašlių s., Pelanių k.), Subãčius (from 29 villages), Svėdasaĩ, *Šeduvà* (Šklagų vk.), Šimónys (from 10 villages), Troškūnai (from 7 villages), Upỹtė, Utenà, Užpãliai, Vaškaĩ (from 8 villages), Vabalniñkas (from 29 villages), Velžỹs (from 15 villages), Výžuonos, Žeimỹs (from 5 villages), *Žemaĩtkiemis* (from 3 villages).

staĩkus+gañdras

Pakrúojis (*Kulýčiai*), *Razalìmas* (*Maldžiūnų k.*).

staĩkus+bùsilas

Aũkšdvaris (*Dausinos k., Jutkiškio k., Masiokų s., Naujasėdės k., Rutkiškio k.*), *Bálninkai* (*Galų k.*), *Daũgailiai* (*Velaikių k.*), *Kriaũnos* (*Pakriaunio k., Kriugiškio s.*), *Truskavà* (*Truskavõs m., Žirdžių k.*).

[4] Christian Donalitius, who lived in Tollmingkehmen, used only *gañdras* in his poems (13 times). Cf. G. H. F. Nesselmann, *Christian Donalitius Littauische Dichtungen* (Königsberg, 1869).

3. *bùsilas*

Alytùs,[5] Alovė,[5] *Antãzavė* (Antãzavės m., Pakačìnių k., Butiškių k.), *Aũkšdvaris* (Krityžės vs.), *Bálninkai* (Kibildžių k., Kildišių k.), *Dùsetos* (Dusetų m., Bumblių s., Gasių k., Betiškių vk., Bilaišių k., Avižių k., Butkelių k., Eivenių k., Markūnų s., Naršėnų k., Lungelių k., Navikų k., Dikmonių k., Vabolių s., Vaversių s., Vosiškių k.), Gélvonys, Giedráičiai, Deltuva, *Jẽznas* (Paverknių k.), Kalesniñkai, Kučiūnai (Kučiūnų k., Kažanių k.), *Lazdìjai* (Šilėnų k.), Lìškiava,[5] Marcinkónys,[5] Merkinė, *Molėtai* (Molėtų m., Bajorų k., Miškiškių k., Kumpų k., Keirionių k., Ažubolių k., Pikčiūnų k., Keršėniškės k., Ažušilių s.), Musninkai, Nemaniūnai, Nemunaitis,[5] Niedzingė,[5] Pabaiskas, Pagirỹs, Raguvà (from 11 villages), Raudóndvaris, Seirìjai, Siesikai, Simnas, Šėta, *Šventãžeris* (Giráitės k., Šventãžerio k., Babrų k., Mikyčių k., Buteliūnų k., Petravičių k.), Taujėnai (8 villages), Tráupiai, *Truskavà* (Užartėlės s.), Tverėčius, Ukmergė, Vadókliai, *Veisiejaĩ* (Kalvelių k., Babrų k.), Vẽpriai, Vilkija,[5] Žeimiaĩ, *Žemaĩtkiemis* (6 villages).

bùsilas+staĩkus

Dùsetos (*Anãpolis, Sadūnų k.*).

bùsilas+baciõnas

Dùsetos (*Sniegiškių k.*), *Molėtai* (*Stirnių d.*).

bùsilas+garnỹs

Jẽznas (*Juodaviškių k.*), *Kučiūnai* (*Žagarų k., Akmenių k., Pieniuočės k.*), *Léipalingis, Seirìjai, Simnas* (*Siẽno m., Pralamčiškės k., Skovagalių k., Babrauninkų k.*), *Slabadà, Šventãžeris* (*Šlavantų k., Janėnų k., Nemajūnų k.*), *Udrija* (*Kirmėliškių k.*), *Veisiejaĩ* (*Veisiejų m., Petroškų k.*: older people say *bùsilas*, the young generation *garnỹs*).

4. *garnỹs*

Ašmintà, Balbiẽriškis, Baĩtninkai, Būdvietis, Garliavà, Gìrninkai, Grìškabūdis, Gudẽliai, Kazlų Rūdà, Kybártai, Klebiškis, *Krosnà* (Krosnėnų k., Delnickų k.), *Lazdìjai* (Dziviliškių k., Verstaminų k., Zamaickiemio k., Beviršių k., Šadziūnų k., Giraitẽlių k.), Kvietìškiai, Lekėčiai, Mykališkis, (Suvalkų) Naũmiestis, Pakúonis, Príenai, Pùnskas (from 7 villages), *Rudaminà* (Kelmaičiai, Maišymų k., Bulakavo d.), Sasnavà, Seinaĩ (Bubelių k.), Skìrsnemunė, Šunskaĩ, Veiveriaĩ, Vilkavìškis, Virbãlis.

[5] Cf. V. Krėvė Mickevičius "Mūsų paukščiai tautosakoje" in *Mūsų Tautosaka*, 1 (1930), 48–72.

garnỹs+gañdras

Janãvas (*Juodų Šaltìnių k.*).

garnỹs+bùsilas

Birštonas, Krosnà (*Vaidiliotų k., Gudeliškės k.*), *Lazdìjai* (*Lazdìjų m., Kaimẽlių k., Palazdijų k., Kuklių k., Gilbiečio-Neravų k., Neravų k., Panarvės k., Buniškių k., Vieštartų k.*), *Rudaminà* (*Karužų k., Strumbagalvių k., Karkliniškės k.*), *Šventãžeris* (*Pečegrindos k., Teizų k., Kirtiliškės k., Burakavo k.*)

5. *gùžas*

Baisiógala, *Gaščiūnai* (Želčių k.), Gruzdžiaĩ, Jõniškis (from 35 villages), Meškùičiai, Šiaulių Radvìliškis, *Skaisgirỹs* (Jurdaičių d.), Stačiūnai (Kauksnujų k.), *Šeduvà* (Kleboniškių k.).

gùžas+gañdras

Žagãrė.

gùžas+staĩkus

Klóvainiai (*Mažųjų Klóvainių vk.*), *Smilgiai* (*Rukónių k.*), *Šeduvà* (*Raginėnų k., Pakalnìškių s.*), *Pašvitinỹs* (*Bučiūnų k., Gedimìnių k., Kivilių k., Starkónių k., Nociūnų k., Vitarčių k.*).

6. *gužùtis*

Betýgala, Eĩžvilkas, Juodáičiai, Kalnùjai, Lioliai, Nemãkščiai, Raséiniai, Stakiaĩ, Šiluva, Veliuonà, Vidùklė.

gužùtis+gañdras

Gìrkalnis, Vadžgirỹs.

7. *baciõnas*

Antãlieptė (Savičiūnų k.), *Antãzavė* (Ajočių k., Duburių k., Kruopeliškių k., Vedarių k.), *Degùčiai* (Degučių k., Gražùtės k., Biržūnų k.), *Dùsetos* (Miliuncų k.), *Imbradas* (Lekių vk., Anupriškių vk), *Sãlakas* (Sãlako m., Balynių k., Čepeliškių Antrųjų k., Drobiškių k., Galinių s., Rainių k., Rakėnų k., Vyželių k.).

baciõnas+staĩkus

Antãlieptė (*Purvỹnės k., Skudùtės vk., Šalinėnų k., Vasaknų d., Senãdvaris*), *Antãzavė* (*Jõniškio vk., Margavõnės vk.*), *Daũgailiai* (*Paberžės k.*), *Degùčiai* (*Baibių k.*), *Imbradas* (*Vasiliškio vk.*), *Paupìnė* (*Medališkių k.*), *Sãlakas* (*Salos k.*).

baciõnas+gañdras

Imbradas (*Jaunaikių s.*), *Zarasaĩ* (Out of 13 informants living in this city 12 gave *gañdras* as their most common expression, only one registering *baciõnas*).

Chart III, where solid thick lines indicate the boundaries of the main dialects (according to Salys' classification), shows that the isoglottic areas coincide to a certain degree with the dialect areas as established on the basis of certain isophones. *gañdras* is spoken in almost all of the Shamaitish dialect area, *staĩrkus* covers the major part of East High-Lithuanian (dialect 6), *bùsilas* is at home in Dzukish. On the other hand it is surprising to note that *garnỹs* is limited to Suvalkijà (except Skìrsnemunė which lies across the Nemunas River), i.e., a territory which from 1795 to 1907 was under Prussian rule as part of New East-Prussia,[6] then was made a part of the Duchy of Warsaw (1807–1815), and after 1815 belonged to "Congress Poland." We would rather expect the Polish loanword here and not up in the northeastern corner on the Lettish-Lithuanian border. We have already seen (in Chapter III) that it was this region which provided the basis for the modern standard language. Yet the standard language, following the advice of the Committee on Terminology, prefers the use of the word *gandras* as the official designation of the stork, while *garnys* is reserved for the heron (Latin *ardea*). In Suvalkija the word *garnys* has both meanings. It is also odd to find *gandras* and not *garnys* in the Aukštaitish parts of East Prussia. Of course, there is the state-line separating *gandras* from *garnys*. Whatever stork name the early Aukštaitish immigrants may have brought with them from their original homes (apparently the area of *gùžas* and *gužùtis*) to East Prussia, no trace is left of it today, the German loanword *gañdras* having taken its place. Neither did I find a trace of *gužas* or *gužutis* with the Zanavỹkai whose forefathers too had come from the *gužas-gužutis* area, according to Salys. Two explanations are possible. Either the words *gužas* and *gužutis* are relatively recent (after 1400 A.D.) additions to the Lithuanian vocabulary, or, more probably, they represent the oldest still existing Lithuanian stork names. If the latter explanation is true, the expressions *gužas* and *gužutis* have been retreating all the time and their isolated occurrences in the *starkus* and *gandras* areas are vestiges of a former wider expanse. This would also bring out that the colonists accepted very

[6] Cf. Alfred Senn, "Observations on German Loanwords in Lithuanian," *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht*, xxx (Madison, Wis., 1938), 190–195.

soon the terminology of their new surroundings, because they were separated from their old homes by political boundaries. Although we consider the words *gužas* and *gužutis* as the oldest Lithuanian stork names, they cannot be traced to the Primitive Baltic era, since they are completely unknown in Lettish. The words *gūža* and *guža* which occur in Lettish have the meaning "goose." Further historical investigations are needed to settle the question definitely.

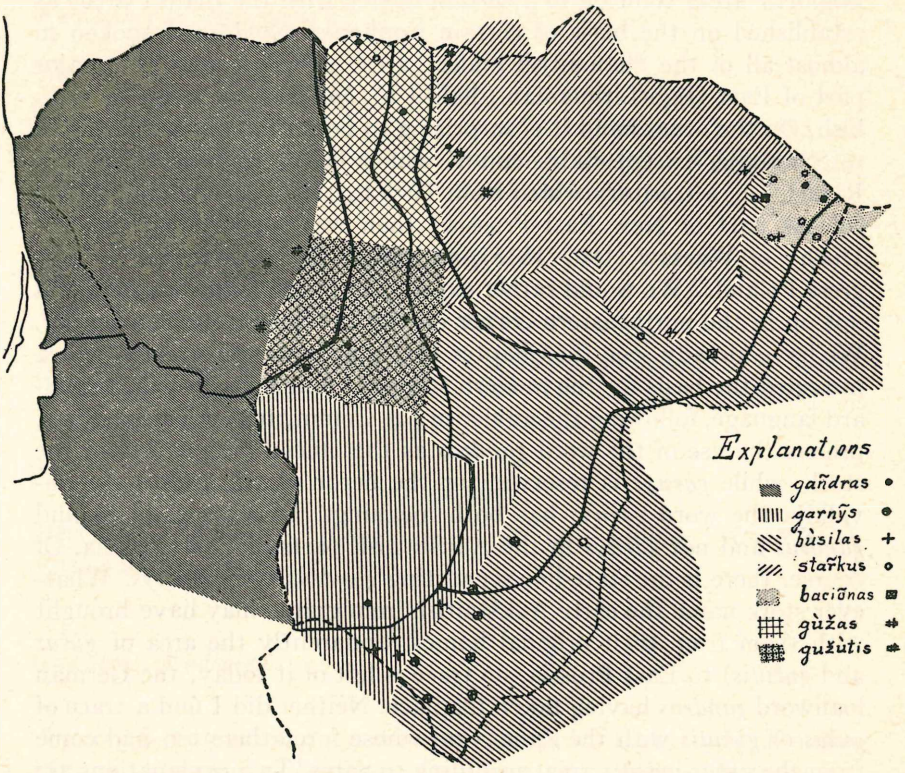


CHART III

In view of the strong support which the word *gandras* has received from the official zoologists, the school, and the textbooks, it is not surprising that the area of this expression is expanding. As a result we found the word used by the younger generation in the other areas, except in the *busilas* region, even as far east as Zarasaĭ. The information received from the city of Zarasai is very instructive in this respect. The twelve informants who gave the word *gandras*

must have come from families which originally had spoken Polish and then accepted the Lithuanian language for patriotic reasons. Of course, they learned the school language. A new check-up should reveal a continued spread of the word *gandras*.

The *baciõnas* area has been steadily shrinking and is likely to disappear completely in the near future, perhaps with the passing away of the present generation. Just how large it was about a hundred years ago, I am unable to tell. However, its traces left in Dùsetos and Utenà clearly indicate that it must have been of considerable size.

The *busilas* area shows also a marked tendency to shrink, especially in the south where *garnys* is expanding. However, complete disappearance of *busilas* is not likely for some time, because the word has a strong support in some popular comic ditties and rhymes where, for reasons of rhythm, it cannot easily be replaced by any of the other expressions, although attempts have been made. When early in spring the children of Udrija, Alytus county, see for the first time a stork, they start to shout:

bùsil, bùsil gà-ga-gà; "storkie, storkie drone;
tàvo mõtka ràganà. your mammy is a crone."

This same rhyme is also said in Raudóndvaris, where my wife was born, and in Subařtonys, Merkinė township, the birthplace of the poet and philologist Vincas Krėvė-Mickevičius.[7] All over the country children like to tease the stork and to make fun of it in form of such ditties or rhymes. Adults do not indulge in this habit, not only because the stork is regarded as a sacred bird, but also because it is believed to understand everything said and to be of a revengeful nature, eager to avenge every wrong done to it. Only children are allowed to tease and deride it, since it considers them as irresponsible and does not pay any attention to their talk.

In addition to the regular names for the stork, there is all over the country a rich variety of nicknames apparently mostly grown out of the language of the children. I hit accidentally on this practice and my collection can therefore only be presented as a sample of greater riches. There are first of all a few Christian names by which the stork is called either in a jesting or an affectionate mood,[8] e.g.,

[7] Other children's rhymes making fun of the stork are given by V. Krėvė-Mickevičius in *Mūsų Tautosaka*, I (1930), 71–72.

[8] The use of Christian names as designations of the stork reminds us of the mediaeval animal fable in which animals are given human names, e.g., German *Reinhard* (hence French *renard*) or *Reineke* for the fox. *Reynard* is also the name of the fox in the English animal fable.

jõnas "John": Kùpiškis and Vidùklė; *stanìslavs* or *stanìslovs* "Stanislaus": Joniškėlis, Naujãmiestis, Klóvainiai; *stasiùkas*, diminutive form of Stanislaus: Vidùklė; *barbõra* "Barbara": Ramýgala (Žirdžių k.); *bãsia*, Polish endearing form of Barbara: Vidùklė; *basýtis*, masculine diminutive (endearing) derivation from *bãsia*, a pun upon the Lithuanian adjective *bãsas* "bare-footed," therefore, "the bare-footed one": Vidùklė.

Quite frequently regular stork names are used in a distorted form and then sound funny, e.g., *guñdras* and *gêndrė* in Ašmintà (Mačiūnų k.), *bùslinas* and *bõcinas* in Krekenavà. *gêndrė* is a contamination or hybrid form made up from parts of *gañdras* "stork" and *nêndrė* "reed" (*fragmites communis*), alluding to the tallness and slenderness of the bird.

Reference to the excessive length of the legs is made in *ilgakõjis* "the long-legged one" or "daddy long-legs": Vabalniñkas (Katalìškių k.), Jõniškis (Satkūnų d., Skilvonių k., Melnių k.), Ramýgala, Rudaminà (Strumbagalvių k.), Lazdìjai, Antãzavė (Kruopelìškių k.), Daugailiai (Paberžės k.); *ilgakiñkis* "longshanks": Jõniškis (Mielaičių k.); *ilgakìškis* "longshanks": Suvalkų Naūmiestis; *gervakõjis* "the crane-legged one" (cf. *gérvė* "crane"=*grus communis*): Jõniškis (Drąseĩkių k.), Skaisgirỹs (Jurdaičių d.). The stiffness of the tall legs is expressed in *stepenkõjis:* Pasvalỹs (Medìnių k.); *stybakõjis:* Eřžvilkas; *stybkõjis:* Simnas (Babrauninkų k.); *stibkõjis:* Debeĩkiai (Mikniūnų k.); *stiplakõjis:* Antãzavė (Kruopelìškių k.); *scyplakõjis:* Rudamina (Strumbagalvių k.), Lazdìjai. The stiff and erect carriage of the bird is referred to in *stỹpas:* Jõniškis (Miseĩkių k.); *stėpis:* Jõniškis; *stìpis:* Jõniškis (Šimkūnų k.); *dìpkus:* Rudamina (Strumbagalvių k.); *kuokis:* Jõniškis (Skilvonių k., Buivỹdžių k.); *stajùks:* Klóvainiai. The word *stajùks* is transformed, by means of the Lithuanian suffix *-ùkas*, from Russian *stoják* "an object standing erect."

Often the red color of the legs is mentioned, e.g., *raudonkõjis* "the red-legged one": Jõniškis (Nuraičių k., Mielaičių k.), Gaščiūnai (Andrešiūnų k.); *raudončiulkis* "redshanks": Kriukaĩ (Butkūnų k.); *raudončebãtis* "the red-shod one": Jõniškis.

The black stork (*ciconia nigra*) is called *juodspařnis* "black-winged": Kùpiškis, Jõniškis (Satkūnų k.); *margaspařnis* "with motley wings": Daugailiai (Velaikių k.); *juodnugãris* "with a black back": Debeĩkiai, Rõkiškis, Panevėžỹs, Daugailiai (Velaikių k.) *juodakùpris* "blackhump": Rudaminà (Strumbagalvių k.).

Various other names are: *ilgasnãpis* "with a long beak": Jõniškis (Skilvonių k.); *sieksniaspařnis* "with fathom-long wings": Skaisgirỹs (Jurdaičių d.); *stógiapaukštis* "the roof bird" (i.e., living or nesting

on the roof): Rudaminà (Karkliniškės k.); *gagãnas* "the clatterer" (cf. the sound imitation *gà-ga-gà* in the above-mentioned children's rhyme): Debeĩkiai; *nekláužada* "stubborn, disobedient fellow": Debeĩkiai; *varliniñkas* "frog hunter": Skaisgirỹs (Jurdaičių d.); *varliãrinkis* "frog collector": Jõniškis (Skilvonių k.).

B. NAMES FOR POTATO

Soon after his study of the stork names Max Niedermann[9] brought out an exhaustive study (unfortunately without a map) of the various names for the potato (*solanum tuberosum*), which is today the most favored root crop of Lithuania,[10] taking up 6.8 percent of all arable land. Compared with conditions existing in Lithuania Major before the first World War, the area given over to potato growing in 1938 was by more than 45 percent larger. Niedermann's investigation is all the more important, since it deals with an article introduced in Europe comparatively recently, i.e., after the discovery of America, and in Lithuania even less than 200 years ago. The background for his study had been prepared by Leo Spitzer[11] for the French language area and by Paul Kretschmer[12] for Germany.

The potato reached both Lithuania Minor and Lithuania Major by way of Germany.[13] It is apparently first mentioned in 1747 in a Lithuanian dictionary[14] as *padêdžei*, a loanword from German *Patate*, and *žiemobolys*, a translation from German *Erdapfel*. However, the fact that these words are given in the German-Lithuanian part under the catchword *Erdapfel*, and not in the Lithuanian-German part, would indicate that this plant was better known to the Germans than to the Lithuanians. Furthermore, the German word *Erdapfel* which is ambiguous in meaning may not refer to the potato (*solanum tuberosum*) at all but to some other root crop. The Prussian Lithuanian poet Christian Donalitius, who lived in Tollmingkehmen and completed his poems around 1773,[15] mentions our vegetable three

[9] No. 82.

[10] Cf. No. 134, pp. 23, 44, 47 f.

[11] An investigation based on map No. 1057 of the *Atlas linguistique de la France* in *Wörter und Sachen*, IV (1912), 147 ff.

[12] Spread and history of the word *Kartoffel* in *Wortgeographie der deutschen Umgangssprache* (1918), pp. 256–264.

[13] Cf. also *The American Plant Migration. Part I: The Potato* by Berthold Laufer, prepared for publication by C. Martin Wilbur. (*Anthropological Series. Field Museum of Natural History*. Vol. 28, No. 1. Chicago 1938), especially pp. 66–68 dealing with the spread of the potato over Germany, Scandinavia, and Eastern Europe.

[14] Philipp Ruhig, *Littauisch-deutsches und deutsch-littauisches Lexicon* (Königsberg, 1747), II, 123.

[15] M. Biržiška, *Duonelaičio gyvenimas ir raštai* (Kaunas, 1921), pp. 23 f.

times, calling it *kartùpelė*. This feminine noun is borrowed from the German *die Cartuffel* (=*Kartoffel*). It is known that the form *Kartoffel*, instead of the older *Tartuffel* (from Italian *tartuffulo*), had originated in Switzerland and spread in Germany after 1750. It appears in Adelung's German Dictionary of 1775.

According to two reports,[16] the potato was first brought to Samogitia from Memel by Pilypas Brazdauskis, a farmer living in the parish of Salantaĩ. Probably the Prussian occupation of Suvalkija from 1795 to 1807 and the settlement of German colonists in that region[17] helped a great deal to popularize the new crop in Lithuania Major.

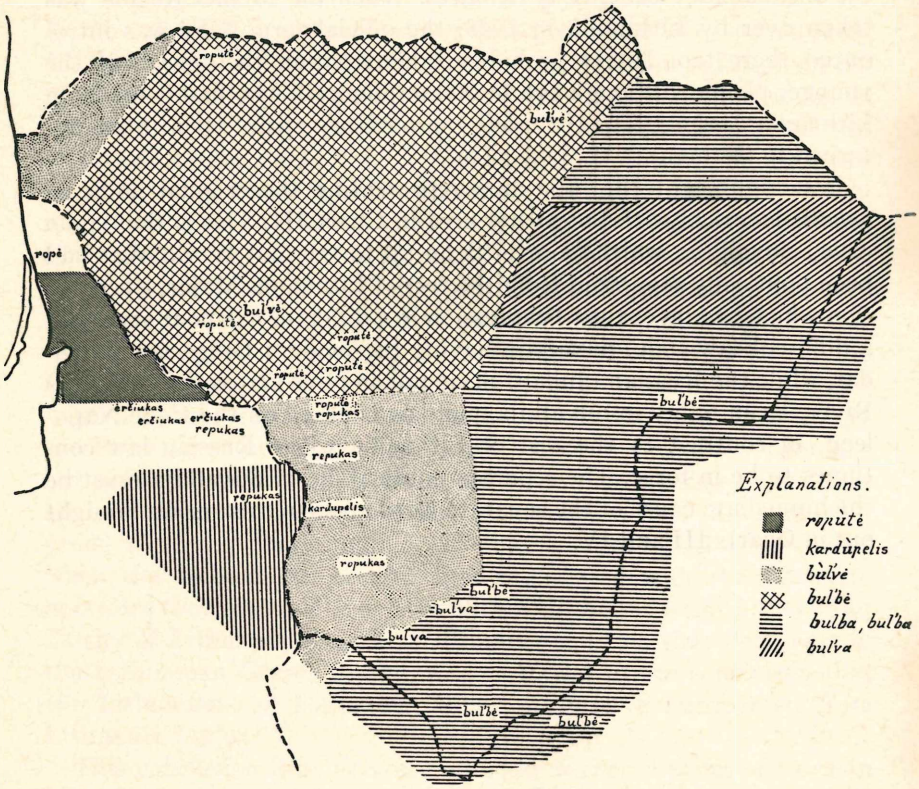
Once introduced, the potato gave rise to a great variety of names, mostly loanwords, but also some spontaneous formations based on indigenous word material. The names used in Lithuania Minor were either borrowed or translated from German or transferred from another root crop, and some of the Prussian Lithuanian names penetrated into Lithuania Major. However, the interest which the Russian government took in agricultural matters during the nineteenth century favored the use and spread of Slavic (Polish and White Russian) designations disputing the field to the earlier East Prussian words. A number of the original potato names have already disappeared from the spoken language. Niedermann discusses the following Lithuanian expressions: a) *kartùpelė, kartùpelis, kardùpelis* (from German *Kartoffel*); b) Shamaitish *kartoklė* (from White Russian *kartochl'a*); c) *erčiukas, ėrčiukas, ierčiukas, ierčikas* (from German *Erdschucke, Erdschocke, Artischoke*); d) Shamaitish *karčiukas* (from Polish *karczoch*); e) *kliumbėrė, klumbėrė, klumberis, klumbėrs, klumbieras* (from German *Grundbirne*); f) *padėdis, padėtis, padetkas* (from German *Patate*); g) *bulbė, bul'ba, bulvė, bul'va, buliava, bul'vas, bulvis* (from Polish *bulba, bulwa*); h) *žemobuolys* (translated from German *Erdapfel*); i) *rópė, ropùtė, ropùkas, ropūnė, rapùkas, repùkas*, taken or derived from Lithuanian *rópė* "turnip"=*brassica rapa*; j) Shamaitish *dūlė, dūlis*, originally designating the pear; k) Prussian Lithuanian *pumputis*, originally designating a kind of mushroom, probably *scleroderma vulgare*; l) Shamaitish *builė*, which is taken from a group of words designating a great variety of plants, e.g., *anthriscus silvestris, allium porrum, allium schoenoprasum, ranunculus, cicuta virosa*, most commonly, however, identified with *chervil*=*anthriscus*; m) *diečė* (around Panevėžys), *kunõdai* (in Zietela; cf. White Russian *kunady* in the same region), both of obscure origin.

[16] Cf. my review of Niedermann's study in *Tauta ir žodis*, II (1924), 446–450.

[17] Cf. my article "Observations on German Loanwords in Lithuanian," *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht*, XXX (1938), 190–195.

To Niedermann's list I can add *kartopelė* from Bishop Matthew Valančius' writings.

The geographical distribution in 1922 of the most important Lithuanian potato names, exclusive of the less widely used forms, is shown in Chart IV. There were four word areas in East Prussia, namely,


ropùtė
bul'vė
ropė
bul'bė
ropùtė
ropùtė
ropùt

other hand, *bulvė*, which originated in Suvalkija, the home of the modern standard language, was accepted as the standard form, although *bulbė* is also widely used in writings, e.g., by Juozas Balčikonis, a native of Ramygala, translator of many German books, and editor of the comprehensive Lithuanian Dictionary now being prepared by the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. When the Memel Region was taken over by Lithuania in 1923, the official form *bulvė* was introduced there too. It has probably taken root in the speech of the younger people, although the 11,000 immigrants who had come from Lithuania Major up to 1939, left the territory again when it was returned to Germany.

It is significant that the area representing the original home of *bulvė* is identical with the *garnys* area in Chart III. This is the region called Suvalkija, which from 1795 on up to the first World War had been politically separated from the rest of Lithuania Major, a separation which had its outward expression in a different calendar style and a different law code, Suvalkija having the modern Gregorian Calendar, while the Russian (Julian) Style was in force across the Nemunas River. Even today in Suvalkija civil law is based on the Code Napoleon, in contrast to the rest of Lithuania where Russian law continues to be in force. The separate political life of Suvalkija must be the immediate cause of the separate word areas in this region brought out in Charts III and IV.

VII

CONCLUSIONS

1. Slavic Loanwords in Prussian Lithuanian

In chapter III[1] it was pointed out that the existence of such a great number of Slavic loanwords in Prussian Lithuanian calls for an explanation. As long as the Lithuanians were regarded as the original inhabitants of Lithuania Minor, it was impossible to explain this situation. Christianity was introduced in East Prussia by Germans and the entire country became Protestant during the Reformation, while Lithuania Major was Christianized by the White Russians and Poles and after some initial gains made by the Reformation returned to the Roman-Catholic faith. Yet the Christian terminology had been the same in Prussian Lithuanian as in Russian Lithuanian, namely Slavic, until, at the beginning of the nineteenth and especially of the twentieth century, the puristic movement in Lithuania Major brought about considerable changes, which were not adopted by the Prussian Lithuanians. The former uniformity of the vocabulary can get a satisfactory explanation only if we assume that at one time all Lithuanians had lived together in a political unit which was exposed to strong Slavic influences,[2] that is to say that at the time when the Lithuanians became first acquainted with the Christian doctrines they must all have lived within the boundaries of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Since East Prussia has at no time been part of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy, we are forced to the conclusion that the Lithuanians of Lithuania Minor must have immigrated from Lithuania Major.[3]

This conclusion is at variance with the earlier theories of German historians of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Adalbert Bezzenberger, for many years professor of comparative philology at the University of Königsberg, believed that the Lithuanians were aboriginal inhabitants of East Prussia and the Baltic tribe of the Old Prussians had always been their neighbors He claimed to have succeeded in reconstructing the original boundary

[1] See p. 28.

[2] Cf. Alexander Brückner, *Litu-slavische Studien*, I. *Teil*: *Die slavischen Lehnwörter im Litauischen* (Weimar, 1877). Pranas Skardžius, "Die slavischen Lehnwörter im Altlitauischen," *Tauta ir žodis*, VII (Kaunas, 1931), 3–252. Alfred Senn, "Polish Influence upon Lithuanian," *Language*, XIV (1938), 148–153, and "Notes on Religious Folklore in Lithuania" (No. 133a). Cf. also No. 102a, pp. 39–44, and No. 133b.

[3] Georg Gerullis (No. 46a) comes to the same conclusion.

line between the Lithuanian and Old Prussian settlements. He studied the place names and used as a criterion the occurrence of the Old Prussian words *kaimis* "village," *garbis* "mountain," *ape* "water, river" as opposed to Lithuanian *kiẽmas*, *kálnas*, and *ùpė*. It is true that the names ending in *-kehmen*, *-kallen*, *-upönen* (e.g., *Darkehmen*, *Pillkallen*, *Stallupönen*) are Lithuanian, while those in *-garben*, *-ap*, *-app*, *-appen* (e.g., *Cumgarben*, *Gallgarben*, *Goldap*, *Angerapp*, *Kirschappen*) are Old Prussian.[4] However, Bezzenberger failed to realize that the word *káimas* "village" is also Lithuanian, and in that meaning even more frequently used than *kiẽmas*.

After the first World War several German scholars[5] studied this problem on the basis of historical documents and deeds found in archives. They discovered that the settlements with Lithuanian names are much younger than those with Prussian names and that the Lithuanian settlements were later enclaves in the original Old Prussian territory. According to this new school, the Prussian Lithuanians are colonists from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania or the Duchy of Samogitia who immigrated after 1400 A.D., mostly between 1500 and 1700.[6]

Of course, it could be said that the Germans were politically interested in the outcome of such studies. It would therefore seem advisable to have the statements verified and compared with the sources by a neutral party, not because the German scholars involved are not trustworthy, but in order to dispel once for all any possible doubts. Doubts have been raised by Lithuanian political writers.[7] However, the leading Lithuanian scholar Anthony Salys has accepted the migration theory and it is the only possible way to explain the numerous Slavic loanwords in Prussian Lithuanian. It is now generally known that there had been a large wilderness between the territories inhabited by the Old Prussians and the Lithuanians and the abovementioned Lithuanian colonization was undertaken for the purpose of populating that uninhabited region. In 1422 the boundary between Samogitia and East Prussia was agreed upon and it remained the same for 500 years.[8]

[4] Cf. Georg Gerullis, *Die altpreussischen Ortsnamen*. Berlin and Leipzig, 1922.

[5] Nos. 120, 126, 131.

[6] Cf. No. 133.

[7] Felix Arvydas, *Das Memelland. Ist es wirklich deutsches Land? Die Anrechte Litauens im Spiegel der Geschichte* (Kaunas, 1934). Reviewed by Eduard Hermann in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1934, Nr. 12, pp. 511–516. Other political literature: Pov. Pakarklis, *Mažoji Lietuva vokiečių mokslo šviesoje* (Kaunas, 1935). Walther Wendenburg and Hans Friedrich Lange, *Die Memelfrage*, Berlin 1921. Viola Bodenschatz, *Mournful Memel*, Louisville, Ky. The last-mentioned booklet is directed against the Lithuanians.

[8] Cf. No. 90, p. 88 f.

2. Isoglottic and Isophonic Areas

Charts III and IV bring out the great importance of political boundaries in creating, limiting, and expanding isoglottic or word areas. The case of Suvalkija shows also that it takes very little time to create new word areas. On the other hand, isophonic areas, i.e., dialect areas based on the phonetic structure, show stronger resistance against innovations, as can be learned from Salys' dialect studies concerning the differences between the Zanavykai and the Kapsai.[9]

[9] See p. 40.

LATVIA
LATVIA
East Prussia
Baltic Sea
Kurische Nehrung
Kurisches Haff
Memel
Niemen
Memel (Klaipeda)
Tilsit
Ragnit
Pillkallen
Schirwindt
Eydtkau
Wirballen
Kybarty
Pilviškiai
Vilkaviškis
Kalvarija
Marijampolė
Kudirkos Naumiestis
Šakiai
Lukšiai
Jurbarkas
Raseiniai
Kelmė
Tauragė
Šilutė
Pagėgiai
Šilalė
Tauragnai
Ignalina
Dūkštas
Zarasai
Salakas
Rokiškis
Kupiškis
Biržai
Pasvalys
Panevėžys
Ukmergė
Šalčininkai
Eišiškės
Varėna
Druskininkai
Lazdijai
Alytus
Prienai
Birštonas
Jonava
Kėdainiai
Šeta
Šiauliai
Radviliškis
Joniškėlis
Mažeikiai
Telšiai
Kuršėnai
Kelmė
Tryškiai
Raseiniai
Šiauliai
Joniškis
Pakruojis
Linkuva
Pasvalys
Kupiškis
Panevėžys
Ukmergė
Vilnius (Wilno)
Trakai
Lida
Grodno
Suwalki
Augustow
Sejny (Seinai)
Kalvarija
Virbalis
Vištytis
Pilkallen
Schirwindt
Eydtkau
Gumbinnen
Stallupönen
Darkehmen
Ebenrode
Goldap
Oletzko
Lötzen
Angerburg
Insterburg
Gerdauen
Bartenstein
Heiligenbeil
Labiau
Tilsit
Ragnit
Memel
Pogegen
Willkischken
Wischwill
Kybarty
Šakiai
Lukšiai
Jurbarkas
Raseiniai
Kelmė
Tauragė
Šilutė
Pagėgiai
Šilalė
Tauragnai
Ignalina
Dūkštas
Zarasai
Salakas
Rokiškis
Kupiškis
Biržai
Pasvalys
Panevėžys
Ukmergė
Šalčininkai
Eišiškės
Varėna
Druskininkai
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Prienai
Birštonas
Jonava
Kėdainiai
Šeta
Šiauliai
Radviliškis
Joniškėlis
Mažeikiai
Telšiai
Kuršėnai